

G.I. Bill CAN SAVE THE World

PLUS

- Ten ways to pinpoint an elitist snob
- Higher education's left turn
- Hall of Fame pitcher Warren Spahn
- Commander calls for concurrent receipt



The American For God and Country

12

Vol. 151, No. 2

The Magazine for a Strong America

AUGUST 2001

34

10

A Address of the Party of	ARTICLES	ah eseri
	SECURITY WITHOUT SACRIFICE By James H. Anderson Domestic terrorism requires a strong response plan, not the building of "Fortress America."	12
	HOW ELITE IT IS! By Richard Parker Tired of thinking? Today's American elitists are more than happy to do it for you.	20
	HIGHER EDUCATION'S LEFT TURN By Roger Kimball The agenda of the '60s radicals has resurfaced on America's college campuses.	24
	A PITCHER FOR THE AGES By Dan Allsup Decorated World War II vet Warren Spahn became baseball's most successful lefthander.	28
	DISTINGUISHED VISITOR TOURS: ARE THEY NECESSARY? By Dan Allsup The USS Greeneville accident has the nation asking if civilians have a place in military exercises.	

FORGET
THE
BASICS
LET'S
CHANGE
SOCIETY

24



The program that delivered prosperity to postwar America promises the same for other nations.

Operation Paul Bunyan ensured two U.S. soldiers murdered at Panmuniom didn't die in vain.

BIG ISSUES Should campaign finance reform be enacted?

THE TREE OF TYRANNY By Wayne Kirkbride

THE GI BILL CAN SAVE THE WORLD By Michael J. Bennett

A ECHON NEWS 48

LEGION NEWS 48 VETERANS UPDATE 58

 COMMANDER'S MESSAGE
 8 VETERANS HEALTH
 54 COMRADES
 60

 LIVING WELL
 46 WASHINGTON WATCH
 56 PARTING SHOTS
 68



VETVOICE

COVER Opportunities provided to World War II veterans by the GI Bill secured the capital necessary for America's economic salvation. With the 21st century in its infancy, the time has come to look at applying the principles of the GI Bill on a global scale. NASA photo

THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE, a leader among national general-interest publications, is published monthly by The American Legion for its 2.7 million members. These wartime veterans, working through 15,000 community-level Posts, dedicate themselves to God and Country and traditional American values; strong national security; adequate and compassionate care for veterans, their widows and orphans; community service; and the wholesome development of our nation's youth.



30



Are you over 55?

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The American Legion (ISSN 0886-1234) is published monthly by The American Legion, 5745 Lee Road, Indianapolis, IN 46216. Periodicals postage polat at Indianapolis, IN 46204 and additional mailing offices. Annual non-member and grit subscriptions, 515 (S21, foreign); Post-sponsored and widows' subscriptions, 55; single copy, \$3.50. Member annual subscription price \$3.00, which is included in annual member dues. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The American Legion, Input Services, P.O. Box 1954, Indianapolis, IN 46206. Internet address: this/www.legion.org.

Change of Address: Notify The American Legion, Input Services, P.O. Box 1954, Indianapolis, IN 46206. (317) 860-3111. Attach old address label, provide old and new addresses and current membership card number.

Canada Post International Publications Mall (Canadian Distribution) Sales Agreement No. 546321. Re-entered second-class mail matter at Manila Central Post office dated Dec. 22, 1991.

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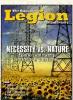
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Cutting back best solution

Donald P. Hodel's article "Turn Off the Lights, The Party's Over" (June) skipped one solution to California's



power crunch: cut back on the massive consumption of energy resources due to the overuse of technology.

My husband and I moved out of Milwaukee and into the

Northwoods after we retired three years ago. Before going, we gave away several TV sets, telephones and VCRs. We heat our small A-frame with wood we cut, split and stack ourselves. We have no TV, cellular phone, computer or fax. Yet my husband manages to fulfill his duties as commander of American Legion Post 428 without the "help" or stresses of technology.

Although our chosen lifestyle may be a bit too simple for others, most Americans could moderate their dependence on electronic devices. As one philosopher said, "Technology is a good servant, but a bad master.

- Pat J. Godsey, Amberg, Wis.

Davis up against wall

The "California Responds" sidebar to Donald Hodel's article on the state's energy crisis is just more pettifogging by bureaucrats running frantically to cover their behinds. Steve Larson doesn't refute or rebut a single point of Hodel's, demonstrating that everything he said is correct.

So far Gov. Gray Davis and the California Legislature have done the very things deregulation prohibited the power distributors from doing, namely longterm contracts and raising consumer electric rates. And Davis has papered over the crisis with \$10 billion in bonds and cash payments, consuming California's cash reserves.

Davis and Co. have spent a lot of time blaming everyone from President Bush and the state of Texas to the Republicans in the California Legislature and the bankrupt power companies. The only reason anything is being done to build new power plants in California is because Davis and the Democrats in the

Legislature have their 2002 re-election chestnuts in the fire.

Wayne Padgett, Pacific Grove, Calif.

Hadel's sins of omission

Donald Hodel seems to have missed the rather significant fact that California's energy shortage arose only after that whacko law went into effect. The question is "If there had been no deregulation, would we have seen a shortage anyway?" He thinks yes, I think no. Hodel also seems to have missed the fact that the largest concentration of people in the state - Los Angeles - went through the "crisis" with no shortage of power and little price change. Holiday lights were all over the place.

Perhaps Hodel didn't notice because Los Angeles is served by a municipally owned power company that is directed to serving people rather than the bottom line. He also failed to mention that the ridiculously high "spot market" prices were set by out-of-state power brokers - mostly from Texas who neither generate power nor provide any service to the people. These are significant omissions for a former secretary of energy and former secretary of the interior.

Private enterprise had a golden chance to create an efficient and responsive energy system with deregulation. It seems to me that blind greed in the short term will force the people to return to regulated utilities, which worked well for many years.

- James V. Kilbane, Rocky River, Ohio

WE WANT YOUR OPINIONS

The American Legion Magazine welcomes letters concerning articles that appear in the publication. Be sure to include your hometown and a daytime phone number for verification. All letters are subject to editing. Send your opinions to:

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More made, more paid

The pro and con article by E.J. Dionne and Paul Gigot ("A Taxing Debate," June) could have been part of the regular congressional debate between the right and the left. "Tax cut for the rich" seems to be the mantra of the Democrats, judging by the "risky scheme" syndrome of the presidential election.

It's a fact of life that the more income vou have, the more taxes you pay.

Why is it such

a mystery that any tax cut will go to the wealthy? As for myself, I was never hired by a poor man. Those who hired me had the money to pay for my services

- Joe Jacobs, San Diego

Pay down U.S. debt

Paul Gigot and E.J. Dionne present strong arguments for and against the Bush tax proposal. However, I don't believe this important issue should be framed as an either/or question. A more instructive approach would be to ask which taxes should be cut, which should not be cut, and, yes, even consider what new taxes might be proposed.

I disagree with Dionne on the inheritance tax. It's a moral injustice to be unable to will your after-tax dollars to your own children. This tax should be abolished.

On the other hand, I disagree with Gigot regarding his portrayal of the argument for paying down the national debt as "disingenuous." He uses a U.S. savings bond analogy that in itself is disingenuous. Most of the debt is in U.S. treasuries, which costs us dearly and on an annual basis.

The question is, which policy would return the most money to the most people: the Bush tax proposal or paying down the debt? Paying down the debt is similar to paying off the principal on your home mortgage; it would result in a greater financial benefit to more Americans than the tax cut.

- John Kershner, Merry Point, Va.

I convinced myself that life with erectile dysfunction was fine...



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VIAGRA is not for everyone. Be sure to ask your doctor if your heart is healthy enough to handle the extra strain of sexual activity. If you have chest pains, dizziness, or nausea during sex, stop and immediately tell your doctor.

If you're a man who uses nitrate drugs, never take VIAGRA—your blood pressure could suddenly drop to an unsafe level. With VIAGRA, the most common side effects are headache, facial flushing, and upset stomach. VIAGRA may also briefly cause bluish vision, sensitivity to light, or blurred vision. In the rare event of an erection lasting more than 4 hours, seek immediate medical help. Remember to protect yourself and your partner from sexually transmitted diseases.

Please see patient summary of information about VIAGRA (25-mg, 50-mg, 100-mg) tablets on the following page.

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This medicine can help many men when it is used as prescribed by their doctors. However, VIAGRA is not for everyone. It is intended for use only by men who have a condition called erectile dysfunction. VIAGRA must never be used by men who are taking medicines that contain nitrates of any kind, at any time. This includes nitroglycerin. If you take VIAGRA with any nitrate medicine your blood pressure could suddenly drop to an unsafe or lite threatening level.

What Is VIAGRA?

VIAGRA is a pill used to treat erectile dystunction (impotence) in men. It can help many men who have erectile dysfunction get and keep an erection when they become sexually excited (stimulated).

You will not get an erection just by faking this medicine. VIAGRA helps a man with erectile dysfunction get an erection only when he is sexually excited.

How Sex Affects the Body

When a man is sexually excited, the penis rapidly fills with more blood than usual. The penis then expands and hardens. This is called an erection. After the man is done having sex, this extra blood flows out of the penis back into the body. The erection goes away. If an erection lasts for a long time (more than 6 hours), if can permanently damage your penis. You should call a doctor immediately if you ever

have a prolonged erection that lasts more than 4 hours. Some conditions and medicines interfere with this natural erection process. The penis cannot fill with enough blood. The man cannot have an erection. This is called erectile dystunction if it becomes a trequent problem

During sex, your heart works harder. Therefore sexual activity may not be advisable for people who have heart problems. Before you start any treatment for erectile dysfunction, ask your doctor if your heart is healthy enough to handle the extra strain of having sex. If you have chest pains, dizziness or nausea during sex, ston having sex and immediately tell your doctor you have had this problem.

How VIAGRA Works

VIAGRA enables many men with erectile dystunction to respond to sexual stimulation. When a man is sexually excited, VIAGRA helps the penis fill with enough blood to cause an erection. After sex is over, the erection goes away

VIAGRA is Not for Everyone

As noted above (How Sex Affects the Body), ask your doctor if your heart is healthy enough for sexual activity

tf you take any medicines that contain nitrates-either regularly or as needed-you should never take VIAGRA. It you take VIAGRA with any nitrate medicine or recreational drug containing nitrates, your blood pressure could suddenly drop to an unsate level. You could get dizzy, taint, or even have a heart attack or stroke. Nitrates are found in many prescription medicines that are used to Ireat angina (chest pain due to heart disease) such as:

- nitroglycerin (sprays, cintments, skin patches or pastes, and tablets that are swallowed or dissolved in the mouth)
- isosorbide mononitrate and isosorbide dinitrate (tablets that are wallowed, chewed, or dissolved in the mouth)

Nitrates are also found in recreational drugs such as amyl nitrate or nitrite ("poppers"). If you are not sure if any of your medicines contain nitrates, or if you do not understand what nitrates are, ask your doctor or pharmacist. VIAGRA is only for nations with erectile dystunction. VIAGRA is not for newborns. children, or women. Do not let anyone else take your VIAGRA, VIAGRA must be used only under a doctor's supervision.

What VIAGRA Ones Not Do

- . VIAGRA does not cure erectile dystunction. It is a treatment for erectile dystunction.
- VIAGRA does not protect you or your partner from getting sexually
- Iransmiffed diseases, including HIV-the virus that causes AIDS. VIAGRA is not a hormone or an aphrodisiac.

What To Tetl Your Ooctor Before You Begin VIAGRA

Only your doctor can decide if VIAGRA is right for you. VIAGRA can cause mild, temporary lowering of your blood pressure. You will need to have a thorough medical exam to diagnose your erectile dysfunction and to find out if you can safely take VIAGRA alone or with your other medicines. Your doctor should determine if your heart is healthy enough to handle the extra strain of having sex Re sure to tell your doctor it you:

- · have ever had any heart problems (e.g., angina, chest pain, heart tailure, irregular heart heats, or heart affack)
- have ever had a stroke
- have low or high blood pressure
- have a rare inherited eve disease called refinitis pigmentosa
- have ever had any kidney problems

- · have ever had any liver problems
- · have ever had any blood problems, including sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- · are allergic to sildenafil or any of the other ingredients of VIAGRA tablets · have a deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or ever had an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- · have stomach ulcers or any types of bleeding problems
- · are taking any other medicines

VIAGRA and Other Medicines

Some medicines can change the way VIAGRA works. Tell your doctor about any medicines you are taking. Do not start or stop taking any medicines before checking with your doctor or pharmacist. This includes prescription and nonprescription medicines or remedies. Remember, VIAGRA should never be used with medicines that contain nitrates (see VIAGRA is Not for Everyone). If you are taking a protease inhibitor, your dose may be adjusted (please see Finding the Right Dose for You.) VIAGRA should not be used with any other medical treatments that cause erections. These treatments include pills, medicines that are injected or inserted into the penis, implants or vacuum pumps

Finding the Right Dose for You

VIAGRA comes in different doses (25 mg, 50 mg and 100 mg). If you do not get the results you expect, talk with your doctor. You and your doctor can determine the dose that works hest for your

- . Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor prescribes.
- . It you think you need a larger dose of VIAGRA, check with your doctor.
- VIAGRA should not be taken more than once a day.

It you are older than age 65, or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg) of VIAGRA. If you are taking professe inhibitors, such as for the treatment of HIV, your doctor may recommend a 25 mg dose and may limit you to a maximum single dose of 25 mg of VIAGRA in a 48 hour

How To Take VIAGRA

Take VIAGRA about one hour before you plan to have sex. Beginning in about 30 minutes and for up to 4 hours, VIAGRA can help you get an erection if you are sexually excited. It you take VIAGRA after a high-fat meal (such as a cheeseburge and trench tries), the medicine may take a little longer to start working. VIAGRA can help you get an erection when you are sexually excited. You will not get an erection just by taking the pill.

Possible Side Effects

Like all medicines. VIAGRA can cause some side effects. These effects are usually mild to moderate and usually don't last longer than a few hours. Some of these side effects are more likely to occur with higher doses. The most common side effects of WAGRA are headache, flushing of the face, and upset stomach. Less common side effects that may occur are temporary changes in color vision (such as Irouble telling the difference between blue and green objects or having a blue color tinge to them), eyes being more sensitive to light, or blurred vision.

In rare instances, men have reported an erection that lasts many hours. You should call a doctor immediately if you ever have an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. It not treated right away, permanent damage to your penis could occur (see How Sex Affects the Bodyl

Heart attack, stroke, irregular heart beats, and death have been reported rarely in men taking VIAGRA. Most, but not all, of these men had heart problems before taking this medicine. It is not possible to determine whether these events were directly related to VIAGRA

VIAGRA may cause other side effects besides those listed on this sheet. If you want more information or develop any side effects or symptoms you are concerned about call your doctor.

Accidental Overdose

In case of accidental overdose, call your doctor right away.

Storing VIAGRA

Keep VIAGRA out of the reach of children. Keep VIAGRA in its original container. Store at room temperature, 59°-86°F (15°-30°C).

For More Information on VIAGRA

VIAGRA is a prescription medicine used to treat erectile dystunction. Only your doctor can decide if it is right for you. This sheet is only a summary. If you have any questions or want more information about VIAGRA, talk with your doctor or pharmacist, visit www.viagra.com, or call 1-888-4VIAGRA 23-5515-00-4



APA has agenda

I take anything printed in journals published by the American Psychological Association with a grain of salt, especially the article "Deconstructing the Essential Father" cited in Alan W. Dowd's "Fatherhood Under Fire" (June). The APA also published a research article that concluded sexual relations between men and boys aren't necessarily harmful to the boys. These people have an agenda and won't let the scientific method stand in their way.

Lou Ludlum, Moweagua, Ill.

Fathers left vulnerable

Amen to Alan Dowd's "Fatherhood Under Fire" article. The "decades of indifference and outright contempt for fathers" from government agencies are analogous to a search-and-destroy mission. American men are raised to be selfreliant. But constant assaults from the media and a lack of funding and support for fathers' programs have caused state and federal laws to be enacted like a trial with one

lawyer arguing the case. Now fathers are vulnerable and some.



times resort to self-destructive behavior when they have no rights. Strong families make a strong nation. The illustration of shattered glass over a father's face on the article's opening spread is symbolic of the broken American dream.

- Kauko H. Kokkonen, Towson, Md.

Feds usurp family's role

Alan Dowd correctly identifies America's epidemic of fatherlessness and its terrible consequences. However, his conclusion that "Congress clearly has plenty of ground to make up" suggests government can solve this problem. That is doubtful.

Dowd speaks of child-support laws and interstate trafficking of deadbeat dads as if these somehow glue families back together. In truth, these are band-aids our government places on the gaping wounds it inflicts on the American family by its intrusions into our personal lives.

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Television may propagandize against the family, but it is government that jails parents for disciplining their children, supports mothers in the work-place and funds child-care facilities. Our benevolent, paternal government increasingly asks us to rely on it as we once relied on our family. When government assumes the role of guardian, guide and guru for the individual, the family withers.

If a cure is to be found for fatherlessness, chances are it won't be in the halls of Congress.

- Mark and Ellen Anich, Omaha, Neb.

Heard that line before

Rep. Bernard Sanders, I-Vt., professes to be an Independent, but he preaches the same class warfare as Democrats. In response to the Big Issues question "Should Capital Gains Be Taxed?" (June), Sanders uses "tax breaks for the wealthy," "tax cuts for billionaires" or some similar phrase eight times. It's the same old Democratic theme we hear over and over again ad nauseam: the rich against the poor, the blacks against the whites. It makes me wonder if Democratic lawmakers have a chip implanted in their brains that programs them to respond "it's only for the wealthy" when tax cuts are brought up.

The wealthy own the companies that provide jobs the government likes to take credit for. The wealthy pay the most taxes. Why shouldn't they get the most back, money they re-invest in the company to provide more jobs? The employees can take the money they get and buy something another company produces, send their kids to college, put it in the bank or invest it.

The Democrats don't think we're smart enough to handle our own money. They think they can do a better job, and with tax breaks they have less money to spend.

- Jerome Kavaney, Fairchild, Wis.

Scrap test ban treaty

To ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is delusional at best and suicidal at worst ("Do You Support the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty?" Big Issues, May). At this moment, rogue nations such as North Korea, the People's Republic of China and Russia are exporting nuclear weapons and technology. President Reagan taught us American power is good. Peace through strength – to do otherwise is to perish. Let the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty die on the vine.

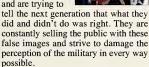
- Gregory P. James, San Francisco

Vietnam critics feel guilty

Fired Peck's article ("Vietnam: Spinning the Legacy," May) is the most enlightening I've ever read about Vietnam. I'm so tired of the spin from those who didn't or refused to go, who parade the struggling Vietnam veterans around to convince themselves they did the right

thing. It's nice to know 91 percent of Vietnam veterans are glad they served and that many are successful.

The truth is that the naysayers feel guilty and are trying to



I started believing the hype about the so-called "dregs-of-society" Vietnam veterans until I read Peck's article. It made me look at the only Vietnam veterans I know, including my father, and realize many of them are successful and keep the country going. Thank God for them. Peck's article should be taught to children everywhere.

- Troy Brown, Grand Blanc, Mich.

Fight on, American Legion

National Commander Ray Smith's message ("Why We Fight for the American Flag," June) is by far the most convincing article I've read on why we shouldn't desecrate our flag. His insights and examples are so brilliantly displayed that I wonder why no one else has taken time to simplify and explain the need for legislation to protect the symbol of our democracy.

As a Korean War veteran, I reflect on the many friends I lost in the war. They gave their lives to protect our great flag and the freedom it represents. Yet we have idiots in Congress who think this legislation would impair our freedom of self-expression.

Thank God for The American Legion and what it stands for. Please don't give up this fight. Your pursuit of bringing dignity and honor to our flag is just one of the many reasons I'm so proud to be a member.

- Lawrence J. Rygiel, Brooklyn, Mich.

Mad cow article misleading

Cliff Kincaid's brief on mad cow disease ("Mad Cow Disease Threatens Military and Families," Washington Watch, May) was inaccurate and needlessly alarming. Americans are not at risk for bovine spongiform encephalopathy, the so-called mad cow disease. In 1989, the U.S. Department of Agriculture began putting into place a series of firewalls to ensure BSE never becomes a problem in this country. These include stringent import bans on live cattle, sheep and goats, as well as animal products from Europe and an active surveillance program to find BSE if it ever got inside our borders.

In addition, there's absolutely no risk of BSE entering the United States through cattle moving from Argentina to Mexico and then here. First, BSE is not found in any South American countries. Second, Mexico doesn't import cattle or any beef from Argentina because a number of South American countries have endemic foot-and-mouth disease. The United States and our NAFTA trading partners, Mexico and Canada, prohibit imports of live animals or fresh and chilled meat products from all countries with foot-and-mouth disease.

For accurate information about BSE, visit www.bseinfo.org. The site also provides information about foot-and-mouth disease, which Kincaid apparently confused with BSE.

- Mark W. Thomas, Englewood, Colo.

Corrections

The article "Old Glory: Soul of Our Nation" (June) should have stated that President Wilson established Flag Day by proclamation May 30, 1916.

The article "Legion Remembers Desert Storm Vets" (June) should have listed Charles Horner's rank as retired Air Force general. The Washington Watch brief "Kyoto Threatens Readiness" (June) should have stated the same.

Military retirees deserve fairness

and both sustain identical injuries.
Both are now eligible to receive disability compensation from the Department of Veterans Affairs.
One soldier leaves the service and takes a federal job. The entire time he works, he receives his full government salary and his VA disability payment. When he retires, he receives his full federal retirement benefits in addition to his full VA disability compensation payment.

wo U.S. soldiers are riding in a

Humvee. They are in an accident

But the other soldier, the one who decided to serve 20 more years in the military, doesn't fare so well. He can't receive his VA disability compensation until he retires from the military, and then his earned retirement pay will be reduced dollar for dollar by the amount of his VA disability payment. Moreover, if his disability pay is more than his military pension, he gets no retirement pay. Zero. Zilch. A fine thank you for two decades of honorable service.

Doesn't sound fair, does it? Unfortunately, that's the way it is for our service members and veterans. It's a situation that needs to be corrected.

The issue is called "concurrent receipt." Simply put, it's paying veterans heir VA disability payments without cutting into earned retirement benefits. Military retirement pay is a benefit for longevity of honorable military service. VA service-connected disability compensation is for medical conditions incurred or aggravated while on active duty. Benefits and compensation are separate issues and should not be linked in any way.

A veteran can receive disability compensation without any offsets, reductions or limits while collecting unemployment compensation in Social Security, federal civil-service pay or pay from a private-sector job. Also free of offsets are federal civil-service retirement (including disability retirement), retirement pension from non-federal jobs, or federal workers compensation (benefits for work-caused disability or illness provided under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act). Only military retired pay is reduced dollar for dollar by VA disability compensation.

Other federal employees can receive retirement benefits and VA disability payments without offsets.

In the past decade, many veterans' programs have been pared to the bone to help balance the budget. With the current national debate over how to handle the sizeable budget surplus, The American Legion believes the time has come for retirees to receive full compensation for both their honorable military service and their service-connected debilitating injuries or illnesses. Fairness demands it.

But action by Congress in May casts into doubt the fate of concurrent receipt any time soon for America's military men and women. Agreeing with a provision of House Concurrent Resolution 83 – introduced by Rep. William "Mac" Thornberry, R-Texas – the House and Senate voted to send concurrent receipt to the Department of Defense for further study. Ironically, Thornberry is a co-sponsor of a House resolution seeking concurrent receipt.

Existing law dishonors service-connected disability by penalizing a service member's longevity. The only appropriate action is one that will provide funding to end this madness.

What makes the most recent action by Congress perplexing is that a majority of congressional members – 65 senators and 335 representatives – are co-sponsors, as of this writing, of two

ERIC

pieces of pending concurrentreceipt legislation. It appears disingenuous congressional leaders would on one hand call themselves co-sponsors and on the other hand vote to virtually kill concurrent receipt by sending it to DoD for review.

It's not too late for the House and Senate to reverse course and pass concurrent-receipt legislation and appropriate funds to pay for it. Two pending bills in the House and Senate afford opportunities to correct wrong-headed votes.

HR 303, the Retired Pay Restoration Act of 2001, introduced by Rep. Michael Bilirakis, R-Fla., would allow military retirees with at least 20 years service and a service-connected disability to receive both military retired pay



National Commander Ray G. Smith

and VA disability compensation without reduction of either.

S 170, the Retired Pay Restoration Act of 2001, introduced by Sen. Harry Reid, D-Nev., would end the current practice of deducting disability benefits from the amount of retirement pay a military retiree receives. It would cover all military retirees with 20 or more years of service.

The recent power shift in the Senate provides the perfect opportunity to place S 170 on the front burner. Sen. Thomas A. Daschle, D-S.D., the new majority

leader, is a co-sponsor. Sen. Reid is the second-ranking Democratic senator in the new majority leadership.

Both Daschle and Reid are now in a position to move concurrent receipt legislation forward.

I urge members of The American Legion family to contact their congressional officials and ask them to co-sponsor and, more importantly, vote for concurrent receipt legislation. Penalizing military retirees for choosing to serve their country for an entire career is not only an injustice to those who have served but also a deterrent to those who may be considering a life of U.S. military service. All service-connected disabled military retirees deserve fair and equitable treatment.



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SHOULD CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM BE ENACTED?

Sen. Russ Feingold, D-Wis.



The unlimited soft-money contributions that flow from wealthy donors to the political parties have reshaped our political system for the worse.

To fuel the endless fund-raising contest between the political parties, both parties have shifted their focus away from the people they represent

in favor of the handful of wealthy interests who can afford to write them checks of \$500,000, \$1 million or even more.

Soft money has undermined many people's faith in democracy. People of both major parties wonder whether party leaders will faithfully represent their interests – whether they are concerned about veterans' issues, health care or cutting government waste – when the parties spend so much time pursuing donations from wealthy interests who can write six- and seven-figure soft-money checks at party fund-raisers.

The McCain-Feingold bill bans soft money and would bring an end to soft-money fund-raisers like the one the

"(Soft money) relegates people of average means into the proverbial cheap seats." Democratic Party conducted last year at the MCI Arena in Washington. At this event, soft-money donors on the floor of the arena sat down to dinner at lavishly decorated tables, while those who could only afford a cheaper

ticket sat in the bleachers and watched as the chosen few enjoyed their meal. This kind of event makes a mockery of the role that devoted party volunteers and small donors play in our democratic process.

Soft money isn't good for political parties or for our democracy; it relegates people of average means into the proverbial cheap seats, while monied interests take center stage.

The McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform bill bans soft money and ensures that the parties operate within the boundaries of the original Watergate-era campaign finance reforms, as well as the prohibition on corporate spending in connection with elections signed into law by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907.

As of this writing, the bill must be considered by the House of Representatives, where Shays-Meehan, the companion

bill to McCain-Feingold, has passed the body twice before.

If this bill passes the House, and is signed by President Bush, the reign of soft money finally will come to an end, and some of the public's faith in our democratic system can be restored.

Your Opinions Count. Too.

Senators and representatives are interested in constituent viewpoints. You may express your views by writing The Honorable (name), U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510, or The Honorable (name), House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. You may call the Senate at (202) 224-3121; the House at (202) 225-3121.

Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky.



Amidst the McCain-Feingold debate, the Senate voted on a constitutional amendment to override the First Amendment and allow government restriction of all spending "by, in support of or in opposition to" candidates for public office. It should be a national scandal that 40 senators supported this

effort to repeal America's oldest and most important polit-

ical reform: the freedom of speech.

The McCain-Feingold bill less forthrightly attacks the constitutional freedom of citizens, groups and parties to speak out on issues and elections. McCain-Feingold makes it illegal for citizen groups to criticize members of Congress in television or radio ads, unless they register with the federal government and conform to severe restrictions. Such restrictions on political speech have been declared unconstitutional in federal court on 22 occasions.

McCain-Feingold also attacks the national parties, making it illegal for them to pay for issue advocacy, voter turnout and

such mundane overhead expenses as utilities, accountants and computers with funds outside the current strict "hardmoney" limits. Hard money refers to funds that can be given directly to federal candidates and is subject to severe

"In the name of 'reform,' McCain-Feingold tramples constitutional freedom."

contribution limits – limits not adjusted for inflation since they were created in 1974. McCain-Feingold would starve the parties. Few are moved by the parties' plight until they consider that candidates running against incumbent Congress members have only one reliable source of support: parties.

Once banned, party soft money – which already is publicly disclosed – will give way to the shadowy world of special-interest soft money, where there is no public disclosure and no accountability. Special interests and the liberal media will become even more powerful. The McCain-Feingold bill specifically exempts the media from its regulation of issue advocacy even though it is a multi-billion-dollar industry exerting tremendous political influence and is no more entitled to First Amendment protection of its political activities than is every other American citizen and group.

It is a dangerous political stunt. In the name of "reform,"

McCain-Feingold tramples

constitutional freedom.

Advanced as a means of reducing cynicism and special-interest influence, Mc-Cain-Feingold actually increases the special interests' power, and that will only increase cynicism.



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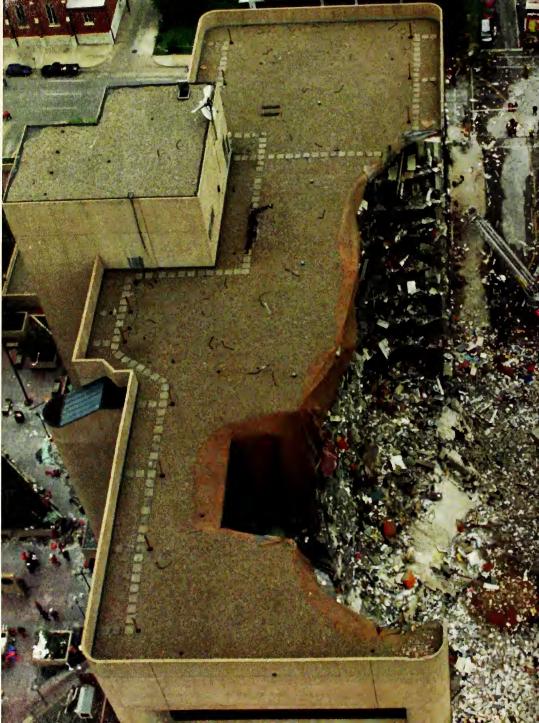
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The 1995 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City made American citizens painfully aware that the United States is vulnerable to terrorist attacks, even at home. AP photo

Security Swithout Sacrifice

America must balance freedom against fear of domestic terrorism.

By James H. Anderson

N RECENT DECADES, American service personnel have suffered devastating terrorist bombing attacks overseas, including the Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983, Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia in 1996 and the USS Cole in Yemen last October.

But terrorism also threatens American citizens at home. The 1993 World Trade Center bombing and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing revealed U.S. vulnerability in stark terms. A confluence of political, economic and technological trends suggests the danger of even more deadly strikes is growing. Indeed, some U.S. intelligence officials believe a major attack involving chemical, biological or radiological weapons is no longer a question of if, but when.

A Growing Threat. U.S. nuclear and conventional arsenals, though impressive on their own terms, cannot deter terrorist attacks. Most terrorists recognize the futility of challenging the U.S. military on the conventional battlefield. In fact, U.S. military prowess has spurred state and non-state adversaries to seek so-called asymmetrical responses, including the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

"...attacks in the past decade – including the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City bombings... indicate a critical threshold has been breached: clearly, some terrorist groups desire a lot of people watching and a lot of people dead."

For many years, western experts believed that terrorists were more interested in attracting media attention and instilling fear rather than inflicting mass casualties. But attacks in the past decade - including the World Trade Center and Oklahoma City bombings, as well as the Tokyo subway attack in 1995 - indicate a critical threshold has been breached;

"Because some biological agents have an incubation period, the delay between the attack and the onset of symptoms may make it difficult for authorities to ascertain its 'return address.'"

clearly, some terrorist groups desire a lot of people watching and a lot of people dead. This ominous development explains why the number of people killed and wounded in terrorist attacks increased during the 1990s, even though the overall number of incidents declined.

Well-funded groups with apocalyptic and nihilistic ideologies pose the most serious threat to the United States, as they may not be deterred by the threat of capture or retaliation. Some of these groups show a strong interest in WMD. As Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet testified before Congress Feb. 7: "Terrorist groups are actively searching the Internet to acquire information and capabilities for chemical, biological, radiological and even nuclear attacks."

Consider, for example, the dangerous reach of the Aum Shinrikyo ("Supreme Truth") cult. Based in Japan, this group had attracted more than 50,000 members worldwide and accumulated \$1 billion in assets before coming under scrutiny by police and security officials in the aftermath of its 1995 subway attack. It recruited scientists and funded sophisticated laboratories to develop chemical and biological agents; it even sent members into Africa, apparently hoping to obtain samples of the deadly Ebola virus. Shinrikyo hoped to unleash global warfare by killing thousands of Japanese civilians and U.S. service personnel in Japan. Chillingly, this group also planned attacks against Washington, and New York.

Islamic terrorists already have attacked Americans at home. The World Trade Center bombing killed six Americans, injured about 1,000 others and caused \$500 million in property damage. Yet the devastation could have been much worse. Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind behind the bombing, planned a series of attacks against New York, including the United Nations, Lincoln and Holland Tunnels, and the George Washington Bridge. He also considered contaminating the World Trade Center bomb with chemical agents.

The most serious terrorist threats to the United States originate in the Middle East, Exiled Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden has been linked to the 1998 U.S. embassy bombings in Africa and the USS Cole attack last fall. He provides direction to a confederation of terrorist groups known as the Al-Qaeda ("The Base") with cells in more than 50 countries. Osama bin Laden has issued religious edicts ("fatwas") calling on Muslims to wage a "holy war" against Americans. Based in Afghanistan, he has trained some of his operatives with chemical and biological agents, and reportedly attempted to purchase a nuclear warhead on the black market. Even if he were arrested tomorrow. most of Osama bin Laden's broadbased, decentralized network would survive because it is based on a radical ideology, not a personality cult.

Domestic Terrorism Groups. The United States also is vulnerable to domestic terrorists acting without any direction from overseas, as evidenced by the Oklahoma City bombing and many smaller attacks. Roughly 1,000 militia and hate groups reside in the United States, ranging in size from a handful of members to several hundred. A smaller number of issue-specific groups, such as animal rights and eco-terrorist groups, also exist.

Some of the militia groups have assumed a lower profile in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, making them more difficult to monitor. The most dangerous groups espouse extreme anti-government creeds and embrace racial bigotry and anti-Semitism. Many groups maintain virulent Web sites to attract new recruits.

Not every domestic terrorist belongs to a group. The two men

responsible for the Oklahoma City bombing, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, mingled with extremist groups but were not formal members. Terrorists acting solo are difficult to monitor, as the FBI learned in its frustrating 18-year pursuit of "Unabomber" Theodore Kaczynski, who killed three people and wounded 23 more in 16 separate incidents before his arrest in 1995. In 1998, the FBI apprehended another solo terrorist, Lawrence Maltz, in Richmond, Va. Maltz, a physicist, who had threatened to attack the president and other federal officials. A thorough FBI investigation revealed he had contacted chemical companies to purchase precursor agents necessary to produce sarin, a deadly nerve agent.

Weapons of Mass Destruction. In light of the proliferation of lethal technologies, coupled with the desire of some groups to inflict mass casualties, the United States must enhance its defenses against potential WMD attacks. Since nuclear, chemical and biological weapons have different characteristics, each will be addressed in turn.

■ Nuclear Terrorism. To be sure, terrorist groups seeking to steal, buy or build nuclear weapons face formidable obstacles. Nations with nuclear weapons generally take extraordinary security measures to protect their arsenals from theft, though reports indicate security measures at some Russian weapons depots are disturbingly lax.

Fortunately, nations have powerful incentives not to sell nuclear weapons to terrorist groups; such a transfer would risk international disgrace, stiff sanctions and perhaps even military retribution. Moreover, any such nation would run the risk that a recipient might turn around and sell the weapon to one of its adversaries.

The possibility that a terrorist group might build a nuclear weapon appears remote, for the technical and financial requirements are well beyond the reach of most groups. But this specter cannot be ruled out entirely, especially for well-financed terrorist groups. In the early 1990s, for example, Aum Shinrikyo reportedly sought to mine uranium in Australia.

■ Radiological terrorism. This presents a more likely threat, as it would not require building a functional nuclear warhead. Terror-

Who responds if we're attacked by terrorists?

The U.S. government has a number of agencies set up to take action in the event of domestic terrorist attacks. Though often unknown to the general public, these agencies stand ready to respond quickly and effectively when called upon.

Nuclear Emergency Support Team. Activated in 1974 and based at Nellis Air Force Base, Nev., NEST is part of the Department of Energy. Its mission is to provide technical assistance to the FBI on nuclear threats and incidents. NEST units are capable of immediate, worldwide deployment. They use sophisticated search and diagnostic tools to locate radiological devices.

Domestic Emergency Support Team. Activated in 1995, DEST is an FBI-managed interagency team designed to provide a pool of expertise to the FBI's on-scene commander in the event of a terrorist threat or strike. Rapidly deployable, DEST's composition is determined on a case-by-case basis to provide focused advice. The State Department manages a similar team for terrorist incidents overseas, the Federal Emergency Support Team.

Federal Emergency Management Agency. Founded in 1979, FEMA is an independent federal agency headquartered in Washington, with 2,600 full-time employees. It has 10 regional offices, each of which is responsible for several states. FEMA is responsible for coordinating federal assistance in the event of natural or man-made disasters. The Terrorist Incident Annex in the Federal Response Plan details FEMA's role in consequence management.

Department of Veterans Affairs. In addition to providing continued service to veterans, VA provides backup to the Department of Defense and the National Disaster Medical System in the event of national emergency. The Veterans Health Administration is staffed by 180,000 personnel and includes 173 medical centers nationwide.

Metropolitan Medical Strike Teams. Established in 1996, these teams consist of physicians, nurses, paramedics and law enforcement officials. Comprised of 129 persons, each team provides for on-site response, decontamination capability and the transport of patients to hospital emergency rooms.

National Domestic Preparedness Office. Established in 1998 by the Justice Department and headed by the FBI. this office serves as a clearinghouse for WMD information. It provides a central point of contact for state and local officials and coordinates congressionally mandated WMD training. Headquartered in Washington, NDPO is staffed with representatives of various federal agencies, including FEMA, Department of Health and Human Services, EPA, DoD and the Department of Energy.

Military Units Capable of Responding to **Weapons of Mass Destruction Attacks:**

- Chemical Biological Incident Response Force. Activated in April 1996, this unit consists of nearly 400 Marines and sailors. Initially based at Camp Lejeune, N.C., the unit is relocating to Quantico, Va. CBIRF is able to treat and evaluate casualties, as well as provide local security, detection and decontamination.
- National Guard Weapons of Mass Destruction Civil Support Teams, formerly known as Rapid Assessment and Initial Detection Teams. These 22-member teams are distributed at 10 locations nationwide. Under the command of state governors, their mission is to reach a disaster site within four hours. The WMD-CST provide support to civilian agencies to assess the nature of the attack, offer medical and technical advice, and coordinate subsequent state and federal military responses. Each team is equipped with a mobile analytical lab and communications facility. All 27 teams are supposed to be ready this year.
- Technical Escort Unit. Based at Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland, this unit specializes in the identification, handling and disposal of chemical and biological agents. Globally deployable, the TEU supports the DoD and other federal agencies. Its origins date back to World War II.

ists could contaminate a conventional explosive with radioactive materials. such as cesium-137 or cobalt-90. which are more readily available than weapons-grade uranium or plutonium. This form of nuclear terrorism already has a dangerous precedent. In 1995, Chechen terrorists planted cesium-137 in a Moscow park and then alerted media representatives to maximize exposure. To respond to threats of nuclear or radiological terrorism directed against Americans, the United States created the Nuclear Emergency Support Team.

■ Chemical Terrorism. Chemical weapons can be used to kill people, decimate livestock and destroy crops. Some terrorist groups have been attracted to their lethality and the psychological fear they inspire. Chemical weapons can be disseminated by several means, including aerosol sprays. Enclosed spaces designed to house public events, such as amphitheaters and sports stadiums, make inviting targets for terrorists seeking to inflict mass casualties. However, lethal chemical agents are generally more difficult

and expensive to manufacture than biological agents.

The United States appears reasonably prepared to respond to limited chemical attacks. Largely in response to environmental concerns, most major metropolitan areas have developed some emergency hazardous material capabilities. The existing HAZMAT equipment and expertise provides a baseline to develop more extensive capabilities.

■ Biological Terrorism. The United States appears less prepared to cope with biological terrorism, even

"The growing awareness of the threat of terrorism has not yet been matched by effective preparation. The existing response plans resemble a giant jigsaw puzzle, with some pieces frayed, broken or missing."

though it has already suffered some limited attacks. In 1984, for example, the Rajneeshee cult infected 751 people with salmonella in Wasco County, Ore. This group also sought to infect the town's water supply. In 1992, the Minnesota Patriots Council planned to assassinate local law enforcement personnel with ricin, a castor bean byproduct and deadly poison. The United States must prepare for the likelihood that other terrorist groups will attempt far more ambitious biological attacks in the future.

On an equal-weight basis, biological agents are the most deadly substances known to mankind. Consider the potential lethality of anthrax. A 1993 Office of Technology Assessment study estimates that, under ideal conditions, a single airplane delivering 100 kilograms (220 pounds) of anthrax spores over Washington, D.C., could kill up to 3 million people.

Biological agents can be disseminated by several means, including aerial bombs, spray tanks and ballistic missiles. They are generally far cheaper and easier to produce than nuclear weapons. Kathleen Bailey, a former assistant director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, estimates a significant biological arsenal could be cultivated in a 15-square-foot room with \$10,000 worth of equipment.

With its densely populated metropolitan areas and modern transportation networks, the United States presents a lucrative target for terrorists considering biological attack. Because some biological agents have an incubation period, the delay between the attack and the onset of symptoms may make it difficult for authorities to ascertain its "return address."

To be sure, biological agents are sensitive to meteorological conditions, such as temperature, humidity and wind speed. But biological agents can

wreak havoc, even under imperfect conditions. In April 1979, the accidental release of anthrax spores from a Soviet biological laboratory killed at least 64 people outside Sverdlovsk (now called Ekaterinburg). Dr. Kenneth Alibek, formerly the deputy chief of Biopreparat – part of the Soviet Union's biological weapons program – estimates this small leak could have caused hundreds of thousands of casualties if the wind had been blowing toward the city instead of away from it.

At least 10 nations possess biological weapons programs, including the People's Republic of China, Iran, Iran, Libya, North Korea, Russia and Syria. After the 1991 Gulf War, Iraq finally admitted the existence of its biological weapons program, which included tons of anthrax and botulism. Evidently Russia's interest in developing biological weapons survived the end of the Cold War. These programs increase the risk that biological expertise will be transferred, either directly or indirectly, to terrorist groups.

The Costs of Failure. A major terrorist attack involving WMD in the United States could involve an unprecedented loss of lives. If the government's response reflects poor planning, lack of preparation, or sloppy execution, public confidence will erode. In addition, a major terrorist attack in the United States could embolden adversaries to threaten U.S. interests abroad, tempting them to take action they might not otherwise consider.

The United States is a trading nation with an open, pluralist society. Building a garrison state – "Fortress America" – in response to terrorist threats is not the answer. Such retrenchment, by encroaching on prized constitutional freedoms and severing security alliances overseas, would play into the hands of terror-

ists. The challenge, then, is to enhance our security and preparedness without sacrificing political freedoms Americans hold dear.

The growing awareness of the threat of terrorism has not yet been matched by effective preparation. The existing response plans resemble a giant jigsaw puzzle, with some pieces frayed, broken or missing. No single organization or agency has the assets or expertise to respond to a major terrorist attack. An alphabet soup of more than 40 different agencies, bureaus and offices play some role in counterterrorism. The sheer number of actors involved creates major coordination problems, despite the efforts of several interagency working groups.

In simplified form, the United States plans to cope with terrorist at-tacks involve crisis management and consequence management. The FBI takes the lead for the crisis management of domestic terrorist incidents. It also manages the Domestic Emergency Support Team, an interagency group created in 1995 to provide expert advice to domestic agencies during crises involving WMD.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency is the lead agency for consequence management – that is, actions the United States would take in the aftermath of a terrorist strike. The Federal Emergency Response Plan provides the template for the delivery of federal assistance to state and local authorities in the event of such a contingency.

The Department of Defense plays a supporting role in crisis management and consequence management by providing highly trained teams created for the specific purpose of responding to WMD incidents within the United States. These teams include the Army Technical Equipment Unit, National Guard Weapons of Mass Destruction Civil Support Teams and the Marine Corps Chemical Biological Incident Response Force.

First Responders. The federal government also assists in training and equipping the so-called first responders. They are the local police, fire and medical officials who will arrive hours, or perhaps even days, before state and federal assets can be deployed in force. The first few hours are critical in responding to chemical



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"A 1993 Office of Technology Assessment study estimates that, under ideal conditions, a single airplane delivering 100 kilograms (220 pounds) of anthrax spores over Washington could kill up to 3 million people."

and biological attacks; local officials have a narrow window to diagnose symptoms, treat casualties and reduce the risk of mass panic. In 1996, Congress passed the Defense Against Weapons of Mass Destruction Act, which directed the Department of Defense, in conjunction with other federal agencies, to manage a five-year training program for first responders in 120 cities. This program has since been extended and expanded to cover 157 counties and cities.

A major terrorist strike could inflict thousands of casualties and quickly overwhelm the capacity of local hospitals. Many urban hospitals already are stretched well beyond their means, sometimes turning away patients for lack of bed space. The Department of Veterans Affairs is well-positioned to play an important supporting role in handling mass casualties. Its 1999 Strategic Plan calls for a continuity-of-operations plan to cope with terrorism and other potential emergencies.

While Congress has funded Metropolitan Medical Strike Teams to assist with biological and chemical contingencies, the medical community's early warning and response capability requires further strengthening. The Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control and Prevention needs to improve its contingency plans as well. Congress can further help by providing financial incentives for pharmaceutical companies to develop critical vaccines and antibiotics, as well as research programs aimed at boosting the human immune system's defenses against biological agents.

The United States should develop a strategic medical reserve for national emergencies, just as it has a strategic petroleum reserve for energy crises. Under the direction of the CDC, this medical reserve should stockpile vaccines, decontamination

supplies and other medical supplies at secure facilities around the country. The United States also should develop and periodically test surge capability to augment the public health system with well-trained medical volunteers in the event of a major biological or chemical strike.

Needed Reforms, Previous efforts to streamline and clarify lines of responsibility have fallen short. In February, the bipartisan Commission on National Security in the 21st Century recommended some far-reaching organizational reforms, including the creation of a Homeland Defense Agency, headed by a director with Cabinet member rank. While this idea merits further review, the immediate focus should be on strengthening existing institutions and structures, such as the National Domestic Preparedness Office, FEMA, and the FBI and CIA counterterrorism centers.

Local, state and federal officials must exercise emergency response plans on a more regular basis, just as the military routinely exercises for contingencies overseas. Terrorist simulation exercises must be as rigorous and realistic as possible, rotating among different regions of the country and involving senior officials. They must explore politically sensitive issues, such as quarantine procedures and triage procedures in the event of mass casualties. The results should be subject to independent review and captured in a comprehensive, user-friendly database of "lessons learned" for the purposes of improving follow-on training.

Improved intelligence capabilities are vital to support crisis management and consequence management of WMD terrorist incidents. Intelligence efforts should be refined, with greater resources allocated to monitoring groups capable of committing such heinous acts. In particu-

lar, the FBI needs to hire more intelligence specialists and linguists capable of monitoring foreign and domestic terrorist groups operating within the United States. These enhancements will improve the agency's capability of disrupting terrorist groups before they can act.

Reducing Vulnerability. The potential for catastrophic terrorist strikes is forcing senior leaders to rethink traditional conceptions of national security. To be sure, the United States still needs to defend precious real estate overseas, such as Korea's demilitarized zone and the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border. But given the evolving threat of terrorism and other threats to the homeland, such as illegal immigration, international crime and missile attack, U.S. leaders need to adopt a layered approach to national security. Protecting U.S. territory from terrorist attack lies at the core of this defense-in-depth concept.

There are no panaceas or silver bullets in defending against terrorism on the home front. The development of a clearly articulated, comprehensive strategy to defend against terrorism will require sustained attention at the highest level. This strategy must be based on an accurate threat assessment, prudent allocation of resources and respect for the rule of law. Presidential leadership is imperative to generate and sustain support for homeland defense over the long haul. Without overstating the danger, the president must instill in federal, state and local officials a greater sense of urgency to prepare for major attacks.

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against foreign threats abroad and
terrorist attacks at home.



James H. Anderson is an associate at Defense Forecast International, a former Marine Corps officer and founding member of

the Council of Emerging National Security Affairs.

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How Elite It Is!

From a state of wealth to a state of mind, the modern American elitist feels qualified to think for you.

By Richard Parker

N A DEMOCRACY, elitism is camouflaged. No one applies the label to himself. It is, in fact, a fighting word: Call someone an elitist and get ready to duck.

American democracy demands, nevertheless, that we be at least as alert to signs of elitism as farmers are, these days, to the symptoms of madcow or foot-and-mouth disease; it is toxic to the democratic ideals of political equality and popular sovereignty.

I know something about this subject. For a quarter-century, I have taught at one of our country's most prolific incubators of elitists: Harvard Law School. It is, I believe, a great educational institution. It turns out good lawyers. But at the same time, it nurtures something in the young people who pass through that is not good for them, and much less good for our country.

What is Elitism? Elitism involves three connected self-conceptions: (1) "We are better – smarter, more broad-minded, more far-seeing, more compassionate, more enlightened and refined – than most people." Hence (2) "We know better what is good for other people." Thus (3) "We are entitled to make the big decisions that affect the lives of everyone."

An elite is not simply made up of people with strong convictions. It is not just a collection of powerful or privileged individuals. It is a group marked by an elevated social status, or at least by a pretension to social (and so political) superiority. What, then, is the basis of its imagined elevation?

For some time, from about 1850 to about 1950, money and family – especially "old money" and "old families" – were the foundation of elitism in this country, as they were in Europe for centuries before. In order to identify elitists, one needed only to ask: Who has the grandest home? Who belongs to the most exclusive club? But no longer. Being rich (and having been rich for a long time) no longer is the same as being an elitist.

Sneak into to an Ivy League graduation ceremony. Compare the graduating seniors with the (very) old grads. Among the young, the signs of wealth (much less of "old money") are few. So too are the snooty accents, the cultivated casual style and the yacht club bonhomie. Instead, what you see are the indicia, no more and no less, of the new gold standard: a very fancy education. What you sense is an aggressive drive to rule. But it is not the aloof egotism of the business barons or society aristocrats of yesteryear. It is now wrapped with self-loving irony in the paraphernalia of popular culture, in the clothing of everyman.

Identifying the Elite. The truth is that today elitism — as an elevated status and a political pretension — is based on, and expressed in, a new social currency. It is conferred and confirmed by the profession of certain beliefs and by the striking of certain attitudes. The "members" of today's elite may never meet or even know of each other specifically. But upon a chance meeting — upon reading or hearing what someone says or seeing how someone behaves — they are likely to notice certain telltale signs and to recognize one another's tacit "membership" immediately.

Yet to outsiders, the elitism of our time is camouflaged more effectively than in the past. For that reason it is useful for the democratic citizen to be on the lookout for subtle outward giveaways of the condition. These are stereotypical signals often left unhidden in speech and behavior. Being stereotypical, they are hardly foolproof. Like bird-watchers, you may make false identifications. (There are, after all, wannabe elitists who are not quite the real thing.) But if you spot a number of the characteristic markings in one specimen, you may have something to be concerned about.

Here is a list (meant somewhat seriously) of 10 possible signals of elitism:

■ 1. Does your specimen criticize certain public figures for having "no class" or for being "stupid"? If he doesn't approve of Bill Clinton, does he refer early and often to the former president's roots in Arkansas or make cracks about "white trash" and "trailer parks"? (President Clinton's own supporters, it is true, enjoyed smearing Paula Jones with trailer-park references.) If he doesn't like President George W. Bush, does he dwell on how "dumb" or "provincial" our president (supposedly) is?

■ 2. Which public figures does he hold up as ideals in comparison to those he disdains? Are they people he imagines as "above" ordinary emotions, ordinary limitations and ordinary poli-



How are elitists different from us?

The founding fathers were, by today's standards and even by the standards of their day, "elitists." Yet they had faith in their fellow man. They believed in English Common Law and the doctrines of the Magna Carta, rather than what I would call "European Law," which was based on the "divine right of kings" (the belief that monarchs receive their right to rule directly from God and are responsible only to God and not to those they rule).

It is not attending Harvard or Yale or Princeton or UCLA or Notre Dame that makes one an elitist — what father or mother wouldn't want their children to have the advantage of such an education?

On the contrary, being an elitist is the result of

While our founders were elitists, they were cut from a different bolt of cloth. They attended church, as did the common people. They shared fundamental values with the common people. They were patriotic, as were the common people. They respected the value of hard work, as did the common people. They were born to "privilege," but they recognized the inherent worth and human dignity of all people.

Today's elitists – on the right and the left of the political spectrum – irrespective of intelligence, do not believe this. They do not share the belief of American Legionnaires that it is our duty as citizens "to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses." They believe they have been ordained to rule, yet, unlike our founders, they lack faith.

They lack faith in something bigger than themselves; faith that we can help someone and someday they will help us; faith that history has something to teach us; faith in the future of our great nation; and faith in the judgment, morals and intelligence of ordinary, God-fearing, hard-working Americans.

Today's elitists believe they and they alone have all the answers to all the problems that beset our civilization, and that the masses of ordinary Americans are not intelligent enough to govern themselves or even understand the challenges America faces.

They do not share the values of those they seek to govern. In sum, the elitists believe they are several cuts above "We the people," and our survival as a nation depends on blind obedience to whatever agenda they propose.

Today's elitists do not trust government of the people, by the people and for the people. They trust the "divine right of kings" with themselves alone on the throne. And if such a belief were to be accepted and prevail, it would herald the end and the failure of the great American experiment in self-government.

- Robert W. Spanogle National Adjutant, The American Legion tics? Does he, for instance, complain that today's politicians fall short of "the standard" set by the founding fathers or by some professor at some university or by some "sophisticated" pundit on television or radio?

■ 3. Does he complain when officials are "guided by opinion polls"? If laws are made by initiative and referendum, does he deplore the sway of "incompetence" or "ignorance" or "prejudice" that are, according to him, inherent in processes of direct democracy? When there is a movement to amend the Constitution, does he insist that the Constitution means – and must forever mean – only what five Justices of the Supreme Court say, at any given moment, it means?

■ 4. Does your specimen talk of "public policy" as if it were a body of expert knowledge and wisdom that he understands and most people do not — as if the opinion of the public had little or nothing to do with "public policy"? Does he go on to

announce to anyone who will listen what are the "real" issues in an election or the "real" interests of the (presumably dense and befuddled) American people?

(presumably see and uddled) Ameria people?

5. Does he selsis about the search as being an elitist.

Being rich –

and having been rich

complain that "the people" are too easily "manipulated" by 30-second spots on television? Then does he go on to deploy his own array of five-second slogans and lurid images denigrating all points of view other than his own? Does he piously condemn "scare rhetoric" when (he says) it is used by others — and then proceeds to use it himself? For instance, does he implicitly portray popular patriotism as a dangerous sentiment likely to "get out of control"?

■ 6. When discussing campaign-finance reform, does he focus, strictly and as a matter of principle, on inequality of access to the political process? Or does he go beyond that and insist, flamboyantly, on "getting money entirely out of politics" while endorsing the advantage of multi-millionaire candidates whom he likes and taking for granted the special influence of the mega-rich owners of the mass media?

■ 7. Does he portray himself as a wonderfully "thoughtful" person – open-minded, disinterested, deliberative – and then go on piously to parrot what amounts to a (supposedly) enlightened "party line" on a long laundry list of diverse political issues?

■ 8. How does he communicate with audiences of ordinary folks? Does he speak slowly and ponderously, enunciating each word with artificial relish as though his hearers were too thick to understand his ideas? Or does he speak extra-fast, using a maximum of erudite high-flown phrases? In either case — talking "down" or talking "past" the audience — he is displaying a typical symptom.

9. How does he dress himself, regard himself and carry himself? Is he almost always perfectly coifed and turned out? Does he seem, that is, to be forever looking in the mirror – and to be smugly pleased with what he sees in it? Does he behave like some sort of moving, breathing mannequin?

■ 10. Does he wear cufflinks?

If someone you know conveys more than a few of these signals, you should look carefully for the others. And if he is someone who purports to "represent" you in government, you should consider looking for a replacement. One of Us. A "representative," after all, is not supposed to be someone you "look up to." "Representation" is not a high school popularity contest. Nor is it just a matter of agreement on this issue or that issue. There is, in the end, a principle at stake: The principle has to do with government "of" and "by" the people as well as "for" the people. Even the starchiest of the founding fathers understood that representation must involve more than a display of civic virtue. Our representatives, they knew, must be like us. They must, indeed, be one of us. As John Adams famously put it, they "ought to mix with the people, think as they think, feel as they feel."

Of course, it is easier to say all this nowadays than to believe it. We are (so we say) a "meritocracy." In the worlds of sports and entertainment, no less than the worlds of business and government, we celebrate people who are good at something and then imagine them to be all-around extraordinary individuals. There are "winners" and there are "losers." We sometimes ask whether the "losers" shouldn't get out of the game. "Untalented" is a word we use to draw a line that would appear, often, to exclude nearly everyone. Thus, in a culture like ours, elitism flourishes. If you resist it, you may fear branding yourself as a "loser" and, worse, as a "sore loser." It sometimes looks like we are in the process of developing, in our own hearts, a mass inferiority complex.

Again, however, there is a principle at stake. We are, to be sure, a meritocracy. But, at the same time, we are a democracy. And, in the last analysis, democracy trumps meritocracy.

Our democracy is built on two great values. The first of these is political equality. As citizens, no one of us is better than any one else. Each of us can – and must – serve on a jury. Each of us can – and ought to – vote. At the ballot box and in the jury room, we each have but one vote.

And our political equality doesn't stop there. Each of us has the right to speak; to amplify our speech by joining with others in organizations, campaigns and movements; and to run for office. In a democracy, moreover, power is legitimate only if the people agree to it. That goes for pretensions to power by any elite. If a subtle sense of inferiority has, indeed, been induced in many of us, and if it hobbles active participation in our common life, we must recall the words of Eleanor Roosevelt: "No one can make you feel inferior," she said, "without your own consent."

The other great value of our democracy is popular sovereignty. Our Constitution makes clear that the people not only must consent to power. In America, the people rule. Indeed, the Constitution itself was explicitly made – and has been re-made periodically – by none other than the people.

Another of the founding fathers,

James Wilson, put it succinctly. "The truth," he said, "is that in our governments, the supreme, absolute, and uncontrollable power remains in the people. As our constitutions are superior to our legislatures; so the people are superior to our constitutions."

Elitism, then, is a state of mind. It has a double face. On one hand, it is a state of mind of those who imagine themselves to be an elite. On the other hand, it is a state of mind of those who accept the pretension of the elitists. The two attitudes are mutually reinforcing.

How can such condition be dispelled? One strategy is to turn the elitists inside out, to embarrass them out of their elitism. The other is to urge everyone else to look their "betters" in the face, see them for the ordinary humans they are and so reject the very notion of social and political superiority. This way is the better way.

A familiar story captures the point. It is the story of the boy who cried out that the emperor wore no clothes. Today, elitists would try to silence this boy. They would call him a cynic. But he was no cynic. He was a realist. He was a "democrat," a champion of democracy.



Richard Parker is a professor of Law at Harvard Law School where he has taught since 1979.

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HIGHER EDUCATION'S

Left Turn

Radicals of the '60s are today's college professors, and America's students are no better off for it.



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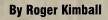








1999



HEN WAS THE LAST TIME you had a reality check about what goes on in American colleges and universities? Consider Wesleyan University, the elite liberal-arts colddletown. Conn. that bills

lege in Middletown, Conn., that bills itself as "the independent Ivy." In

POP MUSIC

COMMENTARY

1999, students at Wesleyan were offered a course called "Pornography: Writing of Prostitutes." Taught by professor Hope Weissman, this class included *Hustler* and works by the Marquis de Sade on its reading list and delved, according to the official course description, into such matters as "the implication of pornography in so-called perverse practices such as voyeurism, bestiality, sadism and masochism." ("So-called" is a nice touch; what would Weissman call such practices?)

The course also required that students take a stab at creating their own work of pornography. "I don't put any constraints on it," Weissman said. "It's supposed to be: 'Just create your own

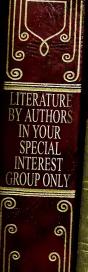
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work of pomography." Freshman Abbie Boggs turned in photographs depicting "sex with her ex-boyfriend." I'm sure Mr. and Mrs. Boggs were pleased to know that their tuition dollars – \$34,690 the last time I checked were being put to such good use.

It would be consoling to report that Wesleyan University is a bizarre exception in American higher education.

Unfortunately, it is completely typical. At least since the late 1980s, when the Rev. Jesse Jackson led a group of





Vol. 4

500 students in a march at Stanford University chanting, "Hey hey, ho ho, Western culture's got to go," American colleges and universities have been captive to a left-wing political movement.

Increasingly, what American higher education offers is a species of re-education. Parents send their children to college in the hopes of preparing them to take their places as educated members of American society. Four years and \$100,000-plus later, parents discover that college has succeeded in stripping their children of the moral, intellectual and social values they spent the first 18 years of life attempting to instill.

Influential philosopher Richard Rorty accurately summed up the situation when he noted – approvingly – that "a new American cultural Left has come into being made of deconstructionists, new historicists, people in gender studies, ethnic studies, media studies, a few left-over Marxists and so on. This Left would like to use the English, French and Comparative Literature Departments of the universities as staging areas for political action."

War on Western Values. Henry Louis Gates Jr., chairman of Harvard's Afro-American Studies Department, simply stated the truth when he noted that "ours was the generation that took over buildings in the late 1960s and demanded the creation of Black and Women's Studies programs, and now ... we have come back to challenge the traditional curriculum."

In this war against western culture, one prime object of attack within the academy is the traditional literary canon and the pedagogical values it embodies. The notion that some works are better and more important than others, that some works exert a special claim on our attention, that "being educated" requires a thoughtful acquaintance with these works and an ability to discriminate between greater and lesser - all this is anathema to the forces arrayed against the traditional understanding of the humanities. The very idea that the works of, say, Shakespeare might be indisputably greater than the collected cartoons of Bugs Bunny is often rejected as "antidemocratic" and "elitist," an imposition on the freedom and political interests of various groups.

At many colleges and universities,

students are now treated to courses in which the products of popular culture—Hollywood movies, rock 'n' roll, comic strips and the like—are granted parity with, or even precedence over, the most important cultural achievements of our civilization. I recall a graduate course at Columbia University on Victorian and modern British literature that repeatedly took time to ponder the relevance of the pop singer Bruce Springsteen and the TV series "Star Trek" to the issues at hand.

It has often been observed that yesterday's student radical is today's tenured professor or academic dean. The point of this observation is not to suggest that our campuses are littered with political agitators. In comparison to the situation that prevailed in 1968, when colleges and universities across the country were scenes of violent demonstrations, the academy today seems positively sedate. Yet if the undergraduate population has moved quietly to the right in recent years, the men and women who are paid to introduce students to the great works and ideas of our civilization have by and large remained true to the emancipationist ideology of the 1960s.

Indeed, it is important to appreciate the extent to which the radical vision of the '60s has not so much been abandoned as internalized by many who came of age then and who now teach at and administer our institutions of higher education. True, there is no longer the imminent prospect of universities being shut down or physically destroyed by angry radicals. But when one considers that the university is now sup-

"Who could have predicted that the ideals of objectivity and the disinterested pursuit of knowledge would not only be abandoned but pilloried as products of a repressive bourgeois society?"

plying many of those erstwhile radicals with handsome paychecks, a pleasant working environment and lifetime job security, then their quiescence is perhaps not so very extraordinary.

Besides, why shouldn't these radicals act contentedly? To an extent unimaginable a decade or two ago, their dreams of radical transformation have been realized. Even if we leave aside the enormous changes that have occurred in social life at our institutions of higher learning, it is patent that the transformation of the substance and even goals of the typical liberal arts program has been staggering.

Who could have guessed that the women's movement would have succeeded in getting gender accepted as "a fundamental category of literary analysis" by departments of literature in nearly every major university? Who could have guessed that administrators would one day be falling over themselves in a rush to replace the "white Western" curriculum of traditional humanistic studies with a smorgasbord of courses designed to appeal to various ethnic and racial sensitivities?

Who could have predicted that the ideals of objectivity and the disinterested pursuit of knowledge would not only be abandoned but pilloried as products of a repressive bourgeois society? No, the radical ethos of the '60s has been all too successful, achieving indirectly in the classroom and faculty meeting and by administrative decree what they were unable to accomplish on the barricades.

Tossing Out Tradition. The political dimension of this assault on the humanities shows itself nowhere more clearly than in the attempt to restructure the curriculum on the principle of "equal time." More and more, one sees the traditional literary canon ignored as various interest groups demand that there be more "women's literature" for feminists, "black literature" for blacks, "gay literature" for homosexuals and so on. The idea of literary quality that transcends the contingencies of race, gender and the like, or that transcends the ephemeral attractions of popular entertainment, is excoriated as naïve, deliberately deceptive or worse.

One recent example is "Vision 2000," a document prepared by the women's studies programs at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and the five other land-grant universi-

"Four years and \$100,000-plus later, parents discover that college has succeeded in stripping their children of the moral, intellectual and social values they spent the first 18 years of life attempting to instill."

ties of New England. Under the guise of promoting diversity and gender equity, "Vision 2000" advocates the transformation of these six universities into radical feminist fiefdoms in which "gender equity" – i.e., equal numbers of men and women in every program and subject area, from business administration and biology to physics and zoology – would be enforced by college administrators.

"Faculty whose students identify their courses, teaching styles and mentoring as failing to be inclusive," the document warns, "do not receive teaching prizes, satisfactory teaching evaluations or merit raises." As commentator John Leo noted in his report on "Vision 2000," three of the five university presidents – in Vermont, Maine and New Hampshire – have already signed on to its recommendations "in spirit."

The important point to understand about these examples – and they could easily be multiplied tenfold – is not how extravagant but, on the contrary, how common they are. Such vertiginous nonsense – ranging over disciplines as various as literature, law, history and the social sciences – now constitutes a large proportion of what is taught and pursued as scholarship in the academy.

Typically combining hermetic jargon and a profound animus against the achievements of the western moral and intellectual tradition, such politicized rhetoric governs the teaching of the humanities from the ground up. And it is in this sense, as the English philosopher Roger Scruton has pointed out, that "the radical curriculum is not so much a reformed curriculum as an anti-curriculum," one designed to short-circuit the humanities by redefining them as a species of political grievance-mongering.

The insinuation of political imperatives into higher education shows itself in other, more subtle ways as well. At many colleges and universities today, traditional precepts about the methods and goals of humanistic study are rejected as hopelessly old-fashioned. Basic questions such as "What does it

mean to be an educated person?" are no longer entertained as worthy of serious attention. Reading is no longer seen as an activity that aims at construing the meaning of books and ideas, but as an elaborate interpretative game that seeks to expose the impossibility of meaning. And – as anyone with even a passing acquaintance with the products of the new academic scholarship knows – writing no longer means attempting to express oneself as clearly and precisely as possible.

On the contrary, writing is pursued as a deliberately "subversive" activity meant to challenge the "bourgeois" and "logocentric" faith in clarity, intelligibility and communication. Mas'd Zavarzadeh, a follower of the French deconstructionist Jacques Derrida, put it bluntly when he declared in a review of a rival critic that "his unproblematic prose and the clarity of his presentation" were "the conceptual tools of conservatism."

The issues raised by the politicization of the humanities have application far beyond the ivy-covered walls of the academy. The denunciations of the "hegemony" of western culture and liberal institutions that are sounded so insistently within our colleges and universities these days are not idle chatter; they represent a concerted effort to attack the very foundations of the society that guarantees the independence of cultural and artistic life – including the independence of our institutions of higher education.

Behind the transformations contemplated by the proponents of feminism, deconstruction and the rest is a blueprint for a radical social transformation that would revolutionize every aspect of social and political life, from the independent place we grant high culture within society to the way we relate to one another as men and women. It is precisely for this reason that the traditional notion of the humanities and the established literary canon have been so violently attacked by the tenured radicals populating our universities; as the cultural guardians of the ideals and values that western

democratic society has struggled to establish and perpetuate, the humanities also form a staunch impediment to the radical vision of their new academic enemies.

Fighting Back. What should be done? In the first place, parents and alumni must get more involved. They must learn about what their children are being taught and have the courage to sound the alarm when they discover that things have gone wrong. It is a great mistake to believe that nothing can be done. Almost all colleges and universities depend directly on the financial support that parents provide through tuition and alumni provide through their contributions. If you don't like the fact your children are being taught that the United States is a racist, oppressive society or that there is no such thing as objective truth or that traditional morality is a bourgeois fiction, speak up. Your dollars pay the salaries of the professors, deans and presidents whom you have entrusted with your children's education. It is up to you to hold them accountable.

Ask to see course catalogs and reading lists. Speak to your children about the sorts of things their professors tell them in class and the kinds of activities and attitudes encouraged outside of class by the college administration. Confrontation is never pleasant. But if the alternative is the intellectual and moral corruption of our children, confronting a few professors and deans is a small price to pay.



Roger Kimball is managing editor of The New Criterion, a monthly review of culture and the arts. He is the author of "Tenured Radicals,"

"The Long March: How the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s Changed America" and "Experiments Against Reality: The Fate of Culture in the Postmodern Age."

Article design: Doug Rollison

After missing more than three seasons due to World War II, Warren Spahn won more games than any other lefthander.

"All of a sudden you're

bleeding and you don't

when that shrapnel hits

you, it's hot and it stings."

By Dan Allsup

arren Spahn joined the Boston Braves the first time in 1942 after a brief stint in the minors and not long after hanging up his American Legion Baseball uniform.

But the future Hall of Famer barely had

time to unpack before manager Casey Stengel sent the southpaw hurler to the minors, reportedly for refusing to brush back Dodger Pee Wee Reese. "I was probably the only guy who worked for Casey Stengel before and after he was a genius," Spahn once told a reporter. Maybe the "Old Perfessor" wasn't

the kid from Buffalo, N.Y., but Uncle Sam definitely was. Spahn spent know why. Let me tell you, the better part

of the next three and a half years as a combat engineer dodging Ger-

interested in

man bullets instead of line drives. He came home with three battle stars, a citation for bravery and a Purple Heart.

Spahn returned to the major leagues

and the Braves in 1946. He once said, "I felt like, wow, what a great way to make a living. If I goof up, there's going to be a relief pitcher coming in there. Nobody's going to shoot me." Although he didn't win his first game until he was 25 years old, Spahn went on to become the most successful lefthander of all time, with 363 wins. He was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1973, his first year of eligibility.

St. Louis Cardinal great Stan Musial once said, "I don't think Spahn will ever get into the Hall of Fame. He'll never stop pitching.'

Spahn nearly proved "Stan the Man" correct. With a career overlapping Carl Hubbell and Steve Carlton, he toiled on the mound for 21 years. Like a fine wine, Spahn improved with age. He pitched his

first no-hitter at 39, tossed another the next season and won 23 games when he was 42. He led the National League in victories eight times, five of them in consecutive years. His

35 home runs are also a league record for pitchers. But perhaps the most startling statistic is his 382 complete games in 750 starts. In comparison, Roger

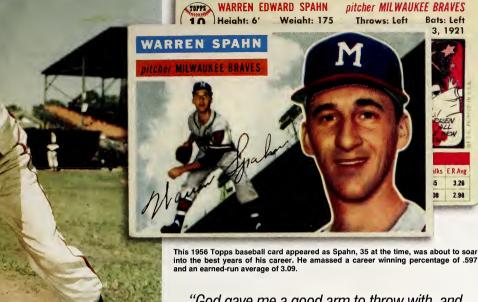
Clemens finished 116 starts in the first 17 years of his career. David Wells was tops in 2000 with nine complete games.

Spahn, a Legionnaire for more than 50 of his 80 years, lives in Broken Arrow, Okla.

THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE:

Tell us about your time in the Army.

WARREN SPAHN: When the Army asked me what I did in civilian life, I told them I was a baseball player, and they didn't know what to do with me. After basic training I was assigned to the First Army, and we sort of got all the dirty details. We fought as infantry troops, and we built landing strips, cleaned up mine fields and did all sorts of things. They gave me a battlefield commission, and that was the biggest mistake I ever made. I didn't know we were going to drop the bomb on Japan, and I thought I had a



"God gave me a good arm to throw with, and I was able to go out there every fourth day."

taught me some things, discipline-wise and culturally. I went into the service as an infant and came back a grown man. I have nothing but good things to say about the military, except I wish they had paid me a little more.

1: How many games would you have won if you had not been drafted?

A. If you look at the averages, I might have been able to win 400 games. At neapolis in February. least that was my goal.

But who's to say? How many guys hurt their arms during the time I was in the military? I was lucky enough that I had a good arm. God gave me a good arm to throw with, and I was able to go out there every fourth day.

0: What's the biggest way the game has changed?

A: Bringing in the fences, the ridiculous strike zone and lowering the mound. Owners want to develop their home-run hitters, and yet I see hitters guessing

Spahn was a guest speaker at an American Legion Baseball fundraising dinner in Min-

like crazy and striking out all the time. There's nothing wrong with striking out anymore. We put the ball in play. One of the unsung people in baseball was Enos Slaughter. He hit behind Musial. Nobody ever walked Musial to get to Slaughter because he was such a tough out. He was a

1 To what do you credit vour longevity?

A: Hard work. Nobody ever got killed by hard work. Today, some guys pitch

once a week in a so-called quality start. I don't understand what that is. I always resented the fact that I had to wait three days to pitch. I had 382 complete games, and I guess I lost some of the best games I ever pitched.



Dan Allsup is a freelance writer who lives in suburban St. Louis.

Article design: Doug Rollison

Hall-of-Fame southpaw Warren Spahn was a 25-year-old veteran of World War II before he won his first Major League game. He went on to record 20 or more victories in 13 of his 21 professional seasons.

better chance of coming back to baseball as an officer, Instead, the war ended, and I ended up with the occupying forces in Europe because I had to spend a year in grade as an officer.

I fought in the Battle of the Bulge, and I was wounded at Remagen Bridge. Just a little bit of shrapnel in my foot and back. It was nothing serious, but hey, all of a sudden you're bleeding and you don't know why. Let me tell you, when that shrapnel hits you, it's hot and it stings.

0: How did your time in the Army affect you?

Well, it interfered with my baseball career, of course. But I think the Army

DISTINGUISHED VISITOR TOURS:



Recent events brought public attention to influential civilians accompanying military missions.

By Dan Allsup

hen the submarine USS Greeneville emerged from the placid Pacific waters near Hawaii and rammed the Ehime Maru in February, nine crew members of the Japanese high school fisheries

training vessel lost their lives.

Amid international controversy, the ensuing investigation determined that 16 American civilians from five states were squeezed into the submarine's control room for a scheduled six-hour orientation cruise. At least two of the guests allegedly had their hands at the controls at the time of the collision.

Rumors surfaced that the guests blocked the view of the Greeneville's crew, but the Navy insisted the visitors were closely watched and did not contribute to the accident.

Nevertheless, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld almost immediately issued orders banning civilians from operating any equipment that requires specialized training. Rumsfeld also directed the military branches to review their policies on civilian visitors.

Members of the media still pointed fingers at the Pentagon, questioning the costs and value of the civilian tours. However, the only extraordinary thing about the submarine's tragic cruise was the accident itself. Civilians hitching rides aboard U.S. warships are as common as bell-bottom

trousers – the Navy hosted 11,000 civilians on 238 trips last year on submarines and aircraft carriers.

The other armed services also escorted tens of thousands of civilians on distinguished visitor tours last year. Guests rode in Army tanks and Humvees and flew on Air Force fighters, tankers and transport aircraft. In Japan, according to the *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, civilians were allowed to pull the lanyards on Marine 155-mm howitzers prior to the Department of Defense's moratorium order.

A Public-Relations Tool. The armed forces have allowed, if not encouraged, civilian guests to examine their people, equipment and operations for more than 50 years. The tours are viewed as a public-relations effort that gives taxpayers an opportunity to see how their dollars are being spent.

But some critics decry the excursions as taxpayer rip-offs and mere joyrides for influential civilian leaders. Some say they are just an opportunity for sailors, soldiers, Marines and airmen to strut their stuff. Claiming that the armed forces spend more than \$30 million annually on public-relations programs, a USA Today editorial charged that the military's public-relations efforts are subverted when "taxpayer dollars are used to lobby for more taxpayer spending." The editorial also questioned the wisdom of the military footing the bill for civilian junkets while simultaneously "pleading poverty."

So the questions have to be asked: Are distinguished visitor tours worth the costs? What are the real benefits? Are they safe? Should they continue? Military leaders and their troops, former civilian guests and members of the press answer a resounding "yes" on all counts. And, despite the moratorium on handson operations, DoD officials say civilian tours are valuable and are here to stay.

"The military has been giving the public access to their properties for years," said Celia Hoke, DoD's acting deputy assistant secretary of public affairs. "They are ongoing and they will continue to take place. These tours are more important today than ever before because there is an ever-dwindling number of veterans. Fewer people are serving in uniform today because of the demise of the draft and the base closures. As a result, fewer people know what the military is all about."

COMMENTARY

Ensuring that the right people have the opportunity to "know what the military is all about" is a prime objective of the civilian tours. Although veterans and civilians familiar with military operations occasionally take part in what the Air Force calls "civic leader tours," they aren't the target audience.

"Air Mobility Command goes after opinion leaders in the community," said Jacque Devine, chief of community relations for the command, which is headquartered at Scott Air Force Base, Ill., near St. Louis. "We're looking for elected officials at the local and county levels, members of the chamber of commerce and educators. We prefer unformed opinions, even negative opinions. We just want to show them what the Air Force is all about."

Well Worth the Money. Devine said a typical AMC civic-leader tour is similar to one she was currently planning. A KC-135 Stratotanker from Scott Air Force Base was scheduled to fly to the Duluth, Minn., area, pick up 40 civilian guests and fly them to Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio. There they would meet basic-training officials and recruits and spend the night. The next day, they were scheduled to fly to Scott, where senior AMC officials would brief them on the command mission before they returned to Duluth.

This particular trip was not a regularly scheduled mission. Although guests would pay for their own food and lodging, Devine estimates that the tour cost AMC about \$40,000. "The Air Force thinks the program is important enough to pay the money," she said.

Devine admitted the DoD moratorium has little effect on AMC operations.

Ensuring that the right people have the opportunity to "know what the military is all about" is a prime objective of the civilian tours.

"We encourage visitors to interact with the crew," she said. "That's why they're here. We do allow them into the cockpit, but they must remain seated and belted in. At no time is anyone ever given control of the aircraft for any reason. After the submarine disaster, DoD ordered that no civilian would ever be allowed to operate any equipment requiring specialized training. We never did allow that."

Tax Dollars at Work. Air Force Chief Master Sgt. Kim Ayers, an air reserve technician at Grissom Air Force Base, Ind., has been a refueling boom operator on KC-135 tankers for more than 20 years. Most flights carry curious civilian guests who are impressed with the flying gas station and its crew.

"It's difficult not to be impressed when you're lying on your belly in the boomer pod of an aircraft flying at 300 miles per hour, watching an airman refuel a fighter aircraft barely 30 feet away," Ayers said. She added that, prior to the DoD moratorium, she would occasionally allow a civilian to control the boom when no other aircraft were in the area. Not anymore.

Ayers stressed that the Air Force isn't merely playing gracious host just so a group of well-heeled civilians can spend a few pleasant days away from home. "These trips aren't boondoggles and the guests aren't on vacation," she said. "We don't wine and dine them on a trip, and there's no time for a round of golf. We keep them busy with unit and mission briefings."

An essential goal of civilian tours is to show the public how defense funds are used. "When you're fighting for defense dollars, the more people who understand what we do and how we do it, the better," Ayers said. "They leave with a better understanding about how their tax dollars are being spent."

Impressing the Press. Some military officials believe that nobody needs to understand military operations more than the civilian press. Although the services usually don't mix reporters and civilian business leaders on a trip, orientation tours specifically for reporters are common.

Harry Levins has accompanied dozens of press tours during his 30 years as a military affairs reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. An Army draftee who served in Germany in the

By accepting responsibility, sub's crew defied odds

By Kerry Dougherty

nce in a while you see something on the nightly news that stops you in your tracks. You can't believe vour eyes - or your ears. You see people squaring their shoulders and saying things like "My mistake," "It was all my fault" and "I'm sorry."

In testimony before the court of inquiry investigating the February sinking of a Japanese fishing trawler by an American submarine off the coast of Hawaii, there was some

astonishing behavior.

The television cameras recorded it all. Take this exchange: "It was only a six-hour cruise," one of the examiners said to the man in charge of the Greeneville's radar tracking. "You got lazy. Didn't you, Petty Officer Seacrest?'

"Yes, sir," Patrick Seacrest replied. Not "Yes, but...

Not "Well, it really wasn't my

Not "Maybe, but the civilians on board were distracting me."

Just "Yes sir."

For some reason, it reminded me of a less noble moment in recent television history: Bill Clinton shaking his crooked finger at the camera and saying, "I did not have sex with that woman."

We live in a country that from 1992 to 2000 saw a president and his wife duck all responsibility for their actions. "I'm sorry" was not in their vocabularies. It is in the lexicon of the submarine's skipper. Cmdr. Scott Waddle ignored his lawyers and arranged to meet privately with the families of the nine dead Japanese students.

According to the families, Waddle apologized profusely to them. He embraced them. He wept with them.

After the encounter, the father of one of the Japanese boys said that Waddle's heartfelt remarks took away his anger. Somehow, seeing the tears and the pain and the grief and the guilt of the naval officer helped him realize that it wasn't some unrepentant American behemoth that had killed his son. It was just a man.

Waddle didn't stop there. On March 20, again defying his lawyers, Waddle took the witness stand. His appearance before the court of inquiry shocked observers because he did it without the immunity from prosecution that his lawyers had sought and that others had gained.

Waddle said he testified because "it was the right thing to do."

I'll bet the people who actually knew Waddle were not at all surprised. This commander and his crew broke all the rules. They didn't hide behind their attorneys. They didn't engage in mass finger-pointing. They didn't appear preoccupied with saving their own skins. They did, however, seem determined to set the record straight. And to say they're sorry. That took guts.

In the course of the inquiry it became clear that these men made mistakes that awful day in February a frightening series of avoidable, deadly mistakes. But the culprits behaved better than the Navy itself did in the aftermath of the deadly Iowa explosion. Navy brass then attempted to pin the blame on a single sailor whom the service accused of being a homosexual.

The men of the Greeneville also behaved far more honorably than their former commander in chief. Unlike Clinton, the officers of the Greeneville paid for their mistakes. Besides military sanctions already enacted, they may still face civil actions. Their candid remarks could work against them later, which is why their lawyers tried to shut them up. They didn't seem to care. They wanted to tell the truth.

The tragic story of the Greeneville is destined for the history books. My hope is that someone, somewhere, will also record the remarkable conduct of the commander and crew in accepting blame for the accident. One thing is certain. Though the careers of the men of the Greeneville are in tatters, their character is not.

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1960s, Levins said the tours are valuable because few of today's reporters are familiar with the workings of the military, and some have preconceived negative opinions of the nation's war machine.

"I come from a long, proud line of draftees," Levins said with a laugh. "When I was a kid, they'd sit around the kitchen table bragging about the time they got in trouble in Naples, or whatever, and I thought it was exciting. Kids today don't have that opportunity. Because society is becoming so much more distant from the military, they [young reporters] just don't know

anything about it. "In December 1991, the Navy let me steer the battleship Missouri for a

few minutes," Levins recalled. "It was a clear day and smooth seas with nothing in sight, and I guess it turned out all right because I didn't hit a land mine. Once, I steered the aircraft carrier USS Theodore Roosevelt, and the helmsman paid more attention to me than if Sharon Stone was on board. The trips help me a lot. In my line of work, if I can't get out with the troops, what do I have to write about?

"I think it's a great program for the press and the military," he added. "I don't care what kind of an attitude a reporter has before the trip; they always come back with a 'Holy Cow!' story. You can't meet these youngsters in uniform at work and not be impressed with their professionalism."

Most military officials agree. Since Washington crossed the Delaware, they have insisted that the troops are their greatest asset. Forget the flash and dash of sexy fighter jets, the immensity of the aircraft carriers and the hulking tanks; the real power comes from the airmen, sailors, soldiers and Marines who operate the hardware.

A Tactic That Works. Civilian tours of military operations may be a public-relations ploy, but they work. Most would agree the armed forces must remain open to civilian inspection and oversight, and concerns about safety and costs of civilian tours should continue to be raised. As long as taxpayers foot the defense bill, the tours are likely to continue.

Dan Allsup is a freelance writer based in suburban St. Louis.

Article design: Doug Rollison

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Unlike postwar eastern Europe, below, where breadlines were common, the GI Bill was the vehicle that created an American middle class living in rows of suburban homes in towns such as Levittown, N.Y., right.

By Michael J. Bennett

ELL, the theory is right." That's what communists said up to the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Unfortunately, that's also what American officials entrusted with economic development of Second and Third World countries are saying today – economists such as Lawrence H. Summers, the new president of Harvard University.

"The theory is right" are the precise words Summers used as the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury in the Clinton administration to dismiss a U.N. study claiming macroeconomic policies imposing health-service cuts on poor countries in return for development loans had an unanticipated cost: 500,000 dead children a year.

The words resonate with irony when compared to another observation made by Summers when he was appointed the 27th president of Harvard in March: "(I)t is an exciting era for education," he said, "in a global economy that is increasingly shaped by knowledge." Irony, unfortunately, is as lost on macroeconomists such as Summers, a tenured Harvard professor, chief economist of the World Bank before he became Treasury Secretary, as it was on communists. Macroeconomists don't

like to think about unintended consequences, yet Summers' own experience provides perhaps the classical example of the follies of "the dismal science" in modern times.

He and former Harvard associates were

architects of development programs in the Third World and former communist countries, including Russia, throughout the past decade. Two of his associates, one a Nobel Prize contender, are currently being sued for \$120 million by the U.S. Justice Department. The suit, filed Sept. 26, 2000, accuses Harvard University of "miserably" failing to supervise a program financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development to transform Russia

into a capitalist nation.

Macroeconomists are master planners, "wonks" in contemporary parlance. Rising above mere analysis, they construct elaborate computer models, in which presumably every relevant factor about economies, from the environmental to the industrial, are fine-tuned into action programs. They account for everything in their calculations except for the human and political coefficients – greed, corruption and mismanagement. When confined to wonkeries, that's fine, but in the real world, such mathematical models are about as reliable as projec-



tions that Al Gore would win 60 percent of the presidential vote.

În America itself, politicians keep macroeconomists on short leashes because the voting public holds them, the politicians, ultimately responsible at the politicians, under the politicians, the works usually have freer rein, although roadblocks are thrown up on highways of good intentions when the price of folly is too high. The Clinton Justice Department itself brought suit against Harvard, too late, however, to protect the new Bush administration from a catastrophic situation in Russia comparable to Germany's Weimar Republic in 1932.

An army of despair led by destitution and disease is marching through Russia and the Second and Third Worlds, and the blame can - with some justice - be placed on the United States. By the time the media grasp the dimensions of the looming catastrophe, however, and the public feels its impact, it will be too late to blame Summers and his acolytes. An alternative development model will be needed, one without the macroeconomists, their models, and the economic consequences paid until now by undeveloped countries for monetary assistance. A new program to help individuals and nations to help themselves is required, one that discards the old assumptions that made countries in Africa, South America, Asia, eastern Europe - notably Russia - guinea pigs in a failed experiment.

The poorer are getting not only poorer, but also sicker — and potentially more dangerous. Internal upheavals in Russia could threaten the entire world if nuclear weapons become available for sale. Economic depression is exacerbating psychological depression, and the vodka industry is finishing the job. Forty years ago, Russian life expectancy at birth was equal to America's. Today, it's 61 for men, six years less than Mexico's 67. Deaths from

heart attacks and strokes, attributable largely to an average consumption of five fifths of vodka a week by men and three by women, equals the U.S. rate from all causes combined. Acute alcohol poisoning accounts for 33,000 deaths annually in Russia; 300 in America.

Middle-Class Revolution. Conditions in Russia are worse than they were in America during the Depression, Desperate times are calling for desperate measures, "relentless experimentation," as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said when America faced 25-percent unemployment. Some New Deal programs did, indeed, work, such as bankdeposit insurance and federally backed home mortgages. Prosperity returned to America, however, only when the GI Bill of Rights turned a temporary wartime boom into a permanently expanding economy based on readily accessible education, home ownership and entrepreneurial opportunity. Millions of veterans leapt over social barricades. thanks to the GI Bill, becoming the middle-class, educated homeowners. So many educational and entrepreneurial opportunities were opened up that the American Dream became a reality for the great majority. The GI Bill was the law that worked, the exception to the rule of unexpected consequences. It gave birth to America's middle-class revolution, a revolution that achieved liberal ends by conservative means.

The GI Bill, the only major bill passed by Congress under FDR that wasn't a product of the New Deal, was sponsored and advocated by Republicans and conservative Democrats, the original "compassionate conservatives." They were neither theorists nor "slaves of some defunct economist," whose "encroaching ideas" really rule the world as John Maynard Keynes boasted in his "General Theory of Economics." The

only encroaching ideas giving life to the GI Bill were memories of the Bonus March on Washington, such as Joan Blondell in a split skirt leaning against a lamp pole in the movie, "Gold Diggers of 1933," singing as an exultant parade of World War I soldiers was transformed into a despairing breadline:

no a despating occadine.
Remember my forgotten man,
You put a rifle in his hand.
You sent him far away,
You shouted hip hooray,
But look at him today.

"The forgotten man," however, was largely ignored by FDR, "Dr, New Deal," when he became "Dr. Win the War," It was The American Legion instead, with the support of those Republicans and conservative Democrats, along with the newspapers of William Randolph Hearst, that got the GI Bill through Congress. Harry Colmery, The American Legion National Commander who actually wrote the law, had read history and knew veterans are either a nation's greatest resource or enemy after the drums of war are silenced. After World War I, virtually every belligerent nation other than Britain and the United States had its government overthrown by its veterans. That didn't happen after World War II, largely because of the Marshall Plan, but there wouldn't have been such a plan if America's 16 million veterans more than one fourth of the civilian work force - hadn't successfully readjusted to civilian life thanks to the GI Bill.

The same human and economic dynamics are at work today in the world's new political democracies. Throughout the Second and Third Worlds, the officers, men, technocrats and bureaucrats of military-industrial complexes constitute the largest pool of disciplined – or rebellious – workers in their societies. Turning, converting and harnessing the energies and strengths of those GI Ivans, Jaimes and Mustafas into physical and



intellectual resources, strengthening their societies and avoiding internal friction and civil war, should be the highest priority of any development program.

The GI Bill's success at home should make it the model for American development programs overseas. Pragmatically, the bill recognized that World War II veterans could have been driven by economic despair to form Soldiers and Sailors Councils or Brownshirts, as Russian and German veterans did after World War I. Democratically, it triggered the most pervasive social revolution in history. Unfortunately, GI Bill concepts haven't been incorporated into economic assistance programs; yet the military is the dominant force in developing countries, the elephant everyone tries to ignore until it goes on a rampage.

GI Joe certainly could have gone on a monumental rampage in 1945-46. Civilian jobs had dropped from 63 million to 58 million as industry slowly converted to peacetime production. Coal, railroad and steel strikes were so massive President Harry Truman demanded power to conscript strikers, an unconstitutional interference with collective bargaining stopped by Sen. Robert Taft, R-Ohio, the Senate majority leader. Conflict raged, but the veterans, rather than being dragged in out of loyalty or necessity, stayed on the sidelines. Unemployment compensation tided over 9 million veterans; education enrolled 8.3 million, 2.2 million in college; no-down-payment houses were bought by 6 million, and hundreds of thousands started businesses or professions, and unemployment rates remained about 3 percent. The \$13.5 billion invested in the GI Bill, repaid by the veterans themselves by 1960 out of taxes on their increased earnings, according to the U.S. Labor Department, reaped another dividend, the Marshall Plan.

A Proven Model. So, why isn't the GI Bill a model for theorists learning from the lessons it could teach? Unfortunately, the GI Bill, although the most successful law ever passed by Congress, is also the most politically incorrect. The bill was progressive by any reasonable standard, but The American Legion was its sponsor, and the American Legion was also anti-communist during the 1940s and 1950s. So the Legion has been tarred as reactionary by the irrational logic of political moralists. As for Hearst, he was "abominated in liberal and academic circles" back in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, Arthur M. Schlesinger recalled in his recent memoirs.

The bill's congressional sponsors weren't politically fashionable either, although one, Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers, its guiding spirit, ought to be a feminist icon. She authored the legislation enabling women to serve in the military and is the only woman to have served as chairman (1950-52) of a major House committee. Veterans, But she was also a Republican, despite representing the tough union town of Lowell, Mass. Sen. Bennett Clark, the Senate sponsor, was a Democrat who had been an outspoken isolationist, as well as a founder of The American Legion with Gen. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. Gen. Roosevelt, the first President Roosevelt's eldest son, was a Republican who had presidential aspirations in the 1920s, aspirations that were sabotaged by Eleanor Roosevelt. Twenty years later, however, he was the commander of the breakout from Utah Beach on D-Day - a role played by Henry Fonda in the movie, "The Longest Day". but press reports of his heroism, both in

Normandy and at Monte Cassino were censored out of stateside newspapers by direct orders of FDR. Nonetheless, he was awarded the Medal of Honor by Gen. Dwight Eisenhower and might have been the Republican presidential nominee in 1948 if he hadn't died July 12, 1944, the day the citation was signed.

Rep. John Rankin, D-Miss., chairman of the House Veterans Committee, was a Southern Populist, and had been the cosponsor of the landmark New Deal legislation creating the Tennessee Valley Authority. But he was, indisputably, a bigot who tried to kill the bill at the last minute because he feared equal unemployment provisions for black veterans would undercut the two-tier wage system in the South, His greatest sin, however, was exposing the hypocrisy of the educational establishment's opposition to the bill, led by James B. Conant, who was the president of Harvard at the time.

Conant, the leading advocate of IQ or intelligence as opposed to achievement testing as the principal criteria for admis-

Levittown: Birthplace of suburbia

Polly Dwyer will never forget the feeling of first-time home ownership. She and husband Melvin Christensen, a World War II veteran, met in college, got married between their junior and senior years and soon had the first of three baby boys. War was over, and the real world was upon them.

"Everybody was a veteran or a veteran's wife, all single-car families, all in the same boat, all with children," she remembers. Their starting point in the American dream was 1954, Levittown, N.Y., the nation's primordial suburb, "It was only four rooms and a bath, but who cared? It was a beautiful thing. This was ours, our grass, our rooms, our everything."

Priced around \$8,000, a mass-produced Levittown home could be purchased with almost no down payment and a VA loan. Newly educated vets may not have realized it at the time, but with the GI Bill's help they were triggering a middle-class revolution.

Paul Manton of the Levittown Historical Society said that by 1955 the former south Long Island potato fields were suddenly occupied by "17,447 homeowners who were all veterans of the Second World War. What had originally been conceived

in 1947 as a 2,000-unit housing development by real-estate genius William Levitt - an ambitious plan in and of itself - had mushroomed into the largest housing development ever undertaken by a single entity."

Levittown became "the blueprint for, and quintessential example of, suburbia," Manton explained. The explosion of single-family dwellings drew national media exposure both for the solution they provided to the postwar housing shortage and for their assembly-line mass construction. Levitt, a Navy Seabee during the war, applied military techniques of standardized, quick construction to plant the rows of similarly designed homes on gently curved streets.

'Everyone said they would become slums," said Dwyer, who married a Korean War veteran after her first husband passed away 20 years ago. "They were great." So great, in fact, that she never plans to leave. "This was my starter home and

my ender home."

And according to the 2000 Census, it hasn't been a bad investment. The median value of a Levittown home was reported at \$162,900.

Jeff Stoffer

sion to college, was also convinced veterans were "the least qualified" of the wartime generation. That created an "irreconcilable difference" with the bill as proposed by the Legion, according Frank T. Hines, Veterans Administrator at the time. The Legion bill created a "direct benefit to the veteran" (vouchers), Hines wrote, while an opposing bill favored by Conant and FDR "would control or build up... educational institutions." The veterans would provide just the occasion for an administration proposal creating academic screening committees to control admissions using IO tests.

Conant used "the sacred doctrine of local responsibility," states rights and state certification of colleges in his public argument against the Legion bill. Rankin, inspired no doubt by Mrs. Rogers, a Yankee Brahmin like Conant, retaliated with an argument no Yankee Brahmin could ignore. Rankin cited Antioch College as a college that would be excluded from participation under the administration bill, like many historically black and religiously sponsored colleges. As a coop school where students alternated work with study, Antioch had been refused certification by the state of Ohio. Antioch, founded by New England abolitionists, had also been a stop on the Underground Railroad, and one of the first two colleges to admit blacks. The other was Oberlin, the alma mater of Colmery, author of the Legion bill. Moreover, Antioch's first president had been Horace Mann, founder of the nation's first public schools in Massachusetts, Conant, of course, was also aware Antioch had been praised by Lawrence Lowell, Conant's predecessor as president of Harvard, as the best small college in America, Rankin didn't have to spell out the details. Conant knew Hearst's Boston Record-American would spell them out in print if he didn't back off. He backed off.

The founding fathers – and mother of the GI Bill were too wise to be wonks. Politically shrewd, psychologically astute and steeped in American history, they knew the American Dream was a reality rooted in the primordial desire of men and women for homes of their own and education for their children, a reality promulgated in earlier legislation, the Northwest Ordinance and the Homestead and Land Grant College Acts. As the first nation in the world to declare its independence as a democracy, America had secured those rights through an army and navy raised from among its citizens. This victorious "rabble in arms" was

subsequently rewarded with land grants by a grateful nation, but only after veterans threatened to overthrow the very government they had established. The Constitutional Convention was convened by the Founding Fathers only after "the awful crisis" of Shavs Rebellion in Massachusetts. The result was the American economic dialectic personified by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, an economy where capital and labor continually struggle, not to overwhelm the other, but to reach common ground where, however imperfectly, all can prosper in a participatory economy dominated by a predominantly "yeoman," "mechanick" or "middle class."

The fundamental paradox in such political tension is lost in the computer models used by macroeconomists. In the physical sciences, mathematics can describe real forces operating in predictable, if not inexorable ways. But when people are reduced to social-science statistics, however, even brilliant chemists such as Conant quickly get lost, as he did in the use of IO data in the eugenics Zeitgeist prevailing during the 1940s. Statistics can be a language, but it's one bereft of ambiguity, irony and paradox, stuffed full of arrogant certitude, devoid of any accounting for the human factor. It's all too easy for even the most brilliant to end up believing things "only an educated man could believe, no ordinary man could," as George Orwell wrote. There are many more things on heaven and earth than can be understood by the "meritocrats" Conant wanted to select through IQ testing to lead America, realities understood best through the lens of real-world experience.

The Boys from Harvard, A generation ago, America presumably learned how short-sighted meritocrats can be, thanks to another Harvard former faculty member, Robert S. MacNamara and his "whiz kids." Unfortunately, the whiz kids didn't go away; they were reincarnated in Russia as "The Boys from Harvard." The intellectual lineage of both stretches back to Conant who described them as "the American radicals," in a 1943 Atlantic Monthly article. These "natural aristocrats," Conant wrote, would selflessly devote themselves to public service as "fanatic believer(s) in equality." As "American radicals," Conant predicted, they "would demand to confiscate (by constitutional methods) all property once a generation (and) use the powers of the government to reorder the 'haves and the have-nots' every generation to

give flux to our social order."

That wasn't the intellectual paradigm of ordinary - tried and true - GI Bill beneficiaries, the Henry Kissingers and Daniel Patrick Moynihans who graduated from college a half-century ago after making Conant acknowledge veterans were "the best students Harvard ever had," Those veteran-students, who flooded the best private campuses under government vouchers that paid for tuition and fees, plus a living stipend, demanded their teachers re-examine their own assumptions. "Don't give me any BS about Europe or Africa or China, they would say. "I've been in Europe or Africa or China." And the good teachers responded, jubilant that that those government vouchers meant their colleges didn't have "to kowtow to idiots anymore to make money."

These young men and women who went on to win the Cold War, their successors who went to college and graduate school in the '60s and '70s, inherited the triumph they won and turned it into tragedy. They've been putting "flux in the social order" ever since because their intellectual mentors - even those who had exulted in teaching GIs - never attempted to abstract from the GI Bill's experience the social, psychological and financial factors that made it a successful experiment, and, presumably, a replicable one. This was one relentless experiment that wasn't reified, because it proved William F. Buckley was wrong when he said he'd "rather be ruled by the first 1,000 names in the Boston telephone directory than the entire faculty of Harvard." He should have said the first 1,000 members of Cambridge's American Legion posts.

That intellectual snobbery cost veterans of other conflicts dearly in terms of sharply reduced educational benefits – \$110 a month for Korean vets to cover all expenses, \$100 a month initially for Vietnam vets – and America itself. A Vietnam-era bill on the scale of World War II would have cost a fraction of the money spent on Great Society programs, and given the country another tried-and true generation of leaders at home as well as abroad. Instead, we got "The Boys from Harvard" and the overriding idea that wealth can only be redistributed or stolen, not made.

America was diminished by failure to fully utilize the productive capacity of Vietnam veterans. Russian resources were gobbled up by a new oligarchy under the "Great Grab." the macroeconom-

ic policies of "The Boys" - Treasury Secretary Summers' macroeconomic "dream team" from the Harvard Institute of International Development (HIID). The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) "was readily persuaded to hand responsibility for America's critical role in reshaping the Russian economy" over to HIID, according to Janine R. Wedel's authoritative study, "Collision and Collusion."

HIID set up a massive people-oriented privatization program of Russian state industries, under the direction of Andrei Schliefer, a tenured economics professor at Harvard and the Nobel Prize contender named in the Justice Department suit. Schliefer won the John Clark Bates Medal in 1999, "the most prestigious award in economics short of the Nobel," according to The New York Times, an honor shared with Summers. the winner in 1993. The privatization program gave Russians vouchers to buy stock in the state industries, but the vouchers were really scrip - "provisional certificates, as for shares of stock," as defined by Webster's. The actual stock still had to be bought with money, but money wasn't available. The government, advised by HIID, slashed salaries, pensions, health and welfare subsidies and access to credit. Without disposable income, scrip or vouchers for stock, investment became worthless, except to speculators who cornered vouchers from sellers for a fraction of their value and rigged bid prices.

The Russian economy was irredeemably damaged - as was America's credibility. Our foreign policy "was essentially privatized to a very small group of players on both sides with very little accountability," Wedel concluded. "Planners and politicians have alienated non-Western reformers and opened themselves to suspicion and cynicism about aid programs, capitalism and the West."

Ironically, Soviet Russia might have converted faster to a peacetime economy than the United States after World War II. A garrison state dependent on a permanent war economy, the country's military industries, out of necessity, had run dual production lines for civilian goods throughout the 70-year régime. Naval shipvards made fishing trawlers; otherwise, there would be no fish to eat, Radar factories made TV sets. "It was called the militia approach to production," according to Lt. Gen. William E. Odum, former director of the National Security

Agency, "The line between military and civilian industry (was) quite porous," according to Odum.

Consequently, Russian plants were in a good position to retool assembly lines expeditiously to civilian production. As of 1989, Russia's 420 military enterprises had "already dedicated 40 percent of production to civilian goods," according to VPK, the official military-industrial commission comparable to the omnipotent War Production Board in World War II America, "All televisions and sewing machines, 97 percent of refrigerators, 79 percent of vacuum cleaners and washing machines and 50 percent of motorcycles were being manufactured by VPK firms."

However, homes where the refrigerators, TVs and vacuum cleaners would go were in desperately short supply and couldn't be built without private-property laws governing mortgages and title transfers, a reality Russian government agencies did recognize. At the agencies' urging, USAID provided another American group with \$20 million to help draft necessary laws. But the money had also been sought by yet another Harvard affiliate, the Institute for Law-Based Economy (ILBE), one of whose founding partners was the "President and Fellow of Harvard University." Because the initiatives were perceived as conflicting, HIID, advised by Schleifer, the Nobel Prize contender, "interfered" with and "obstructed" the legal reforms, according to Wedel.

Homes became only the stuff of vodka dreams.

The Russian people, for three-quarters of the 20th century, were hapless guinea pigs in the most ambitious ideological experiment in history, communism. Then, when the experiment failed, they became, once again, guinea pigs in yet another ideological experiment. Those who should have known better - the intellectuals - hadn't learned from history.

People: The Wealth of Nations. The peoples of the Third World, eastern Europe and Russia are all the poorer for America's own lack of appreciation and understanding of the enduring lessons to be learned from the World War II GI Bill of Rights. Sixty years ago, Gen. Roosevelt anticipated a time when America could become a beacon toward which "other nations can struggle out of the mire of dictatorship." And, indeed, the American military establishment he helped lead in the fight against fascist dictatorships was converted into a catalyst for widespread and sustained civilian prosperity - and a model for nations struggling from the mire of communist dictatorship.

When the Cold War ended, Russia was spending about the same percentage of its GNP on its military, almost twothirds, as America had been before VJ Day, 1945. The difference between America and Russia was the GI Bill. The law enabled the United States to start converting its greatest resource, officers and enlisted men, into productive citizens, long before factories were retooled to produce automobiles, refrigerators and vacuum cleaners. Rather than let trained, disciplined soldiers, sailors and airmen beg on the streets or be drafted by loyalty or necessity into violent labor, political, and criminal mafias, as is happening in most of the world today, the GI Bill put half of them in school. The mass construction of new and desperately needed homes, begun by William Levitt on Long Island, N.Y., turned the builders' craft into an industrial sector employing millions, and generated a demand for goods and services that transformed, through franchising methods, the country's hitherto primitive marketing and distribution sector, the sales of food, furniture and clothing into an economic powerhouse equal to the factory system that had conquered the world.

Other nations had won great wars; America had won the greatest war in history and crowned the victory with an even greater triumph, enduring - and affordable - peace. The triumph, however, could have all too easily turned into a Phrryic victory, impaled on the contradictions of capitalism. Instead, the United States eliminated the contradictions by making its veterans first-class citizens, citizens of the world's first overwhelmingly middle-class society, and it did so through the GI Bill.

"Future historians may consider it (the GI Bill) the most important event of the 20th century," Peter Drucker, the business and economics philosopher, has written. "The GI Bill - and the enthusiastic response to it on the part of America's veterans - signaled the shift to the knowledge society. We are clearly in the middle of this transformation; indeed, if history is any guide, it will not be completed until 2010 or 2020. But already it has changed the political, economic and moral landscape of the world."

Drucker wrote that 1945, the year when GIs began to take advantage of the bill, marked a divide in world history comparable to 1776, the year the American Revolution began, and also the year James Watt perfected the steam engine and Adam Smith published "The Wealth of Nations." The record of the GI Bill's success offers clear, indisputable proof that people are, as a matter of fact, the wealth of nations, the world's ultimate and only infinite resource.

'Development isn't a collection of things but rather a process that yields things," Jane Jacobs, the social critic, has written. "Yet governments, aid agencies and the World Bank put their faith into a 'Thing Theory' ... (which) presupposes that development is the result of possessing things such as factories, dams, schools, tractors ... things subsumed under the category of infrastructure ... (But) economically creative people ... drive the process, people who don't need to be geniuses or even extraordinarily talented ... The requirements are initiative and resourcefulness - qualities abundant in the human race."

Only one economist, Joseph A.

Schumpeter, vaguely understood that idea at the time the bill passed. An Austrian who taught at Harvard in the 1930s and 1940s, Schumpeter admired the great entrepreneurs, the Carnegies, Fords, Rockefellers, Watsons, etc. Nevertheless, he predicted in his 1940 book. "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy," "... a socialist form of society will inevitably emerge from an equally inevitable decomposition of capitalist society." His contemporaries - Keynes, John Kenneth Galbraith and Schlesinger - looked forward to a postwar society in which investment decisions would be dictated by the interlocking directorate of intellectuals, big government and big business, the "meritocracy." Just as the War Production Board produced victory in war, a Peace Production Board would produce prosperity in peacetime. Schumpeter believed only "production of modern homes for the masses would suffice to provide (the private) investment opportunities" necessary to re-invigorate

the market, and Levitt proved him right.

The GI Bill launched the massive housing boom that built suburbia, the real "New Frontier" while transforming and democratizing – higher education. Schumpeter's "celebration of entrepreneurs such as Levitt with their gales of 'creative destruction' was far more accurate than his prediction of capitalism as its own gravedigger," Schlesinger acknowledged a half-century later.

"The movement into the age of the computer is a triumphant vindication of the other half of Schumpeter's argument," Schlesinger added, "his theory of economic development as propelled by technological breakthroughs and entrepreneurial adventurers.'

But it was the GI Bill's creative investment in America's most productive young people that made it all possible. In Schlesinger's words, without the GI Bill, there would be no catalyst to "combine individual opportunity with social responsibility." If the New Deal saved capitalism, it was the GI Bill that gave birth to a people's capitalism, where the proletariat was busy acquiring education and homes, becoming middle-class, creating a capitalist democracy welling up from the bottom rather than trickling down from the top.

Success of the GI Bill's "creative investment" was predicated on their triedand-true military experience, making them good risks. That same military experience could make veterans of other countries good risks as students, homeowners and entrepreneurs. International GI Bills could also mobilize private capital - most of it now not invested because of a lack of property rights - in developing countries for investment in secondary loan guarantees for homes, stimulating internal markets essential to free nations. and, thus, freeing those emerging nations from dependence on earnings from exports and exploitation by industries seeking cheap labor. Educational opportunities, using computer teaching methods in new communities and old military bases, are equally attainable. And the way could be led by an International Development Corps composed primarily of American veterans educated under an improved American GI Bill.

Why not extend such opportunities to everyone? The answer can be found in the bill's history. FDR had a more sweeping plan, an Economic Bill of Rights, guaranteeing all Americans education, jobs, housing, medical care and pensions, raising economic assurances to the level of political rights. "All these

Why is capitalism a mystery elsewhere?

Capitalist countries succeed as just and workable societies to the extent they empower people to own something of their own - homes that shelter their families and reinforce political emancipation through economic independence.

That seems obvious to most Americans. But to the rest of the world it is "The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in The West and Fails Everywhere Else," the title of a best-selling book in the Second and Third Worlds by Hernando DeSoto of Peru.

Almost 20 years ago, DeSoto started a new business in Peru, a twosewing-machine garment factory. He needed five university students working 289 days and paid 31 times the average monthly minimum wage to get an operating license. Peru was producing 28,000 laws per year - 100 a day - regulating business. Yet, at the same time, 68 percent of Peru's families were living in houses without clear legal title.

Those houses, the basis, as mortgaged and refinanced real estate, of wealth, were "dead capital." Peru and other Second and Third World countries, DeSoto quickly found, had too many laws minding everyone's

business and virtually none protecting private property. So Peruvians and most sensible people around the world choose to conduct their business "extra-legally" - as did Americans 100 years ago.

That was "our natural state of illegal merriment," said "Mr. Dooley," the Irish bartender-philosopher created by Finley Peter Dunne. Nothing illustrated the "extra-legality" so much as the federal government's distribution of "land scrip, the 19th century equivalent of food stamps" to veterans of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, the Indian Wars and the Mexican Wars.

The scrip amounted to little more than "squatters' or tomahawk rights," and shooting the sheriff was the usual way of settling land disputes. Even the Homestead Act "only sanctioned what settlers had done for themselves," DeSoto wrote. Only the passage of the GI Bill codified extra-legal rights into a formal property system, enabling the United States to become "the most important market economy and producer of capital in the world," according to DeSoto. That "released the aspirations and energies of common people as never before seen in America." And, potentially, world history.

MJB

(economic) rights were implicit in the programs of the New Deal," transforming "negative (political) liberty from government" to "positive (economic) liberty through government," Doris Kearns Goodwin wrote.

FDR's "New Bill of Rights" would have erased "the fatal and false dichotomy – liberty vs. security, freedom against equality – which had deranged American social thought and crippled the nation's capacity to subdue depression and poverty," according to James MacGregor Burns.

But the price of enactment would be freedom itself. In return, every civilian of working age would have been conscripted into national service, as advocated by Mrs. Roosevelt. "All of us men in the services and women at home - should be drafted - and told what is the job we are to do," she said. "So long as we are left to volunteer we are bound to waste our capacities." But just as everyone shouldn't be forced to serve, not everyone can benefit from service. Besides, FDR's plan was far more expensive. His budget request for 1944-45 alone was \$10.3 billion, five times the \$2 billion Congress authorized, 77 percent of the \$13.5 billion spent on the GI Bill from 1945 through 1952.

Such massive expenditures weren't necessary. The first sale of VA mortgages to the secondary loan market in 1948 began a process that has been the bedrock of the nation's middle-class way of life ever since. Guaranteed home mortgages, first primarily for veterans, but soon thereafter for civilians, was also the seedbed of millions of new businesses through refinanced mortgages that provided initial financing. Before the Depression, mortgages were lent against the assets of local banks, which, to offset risks, demanded 40 percent down payments on three to five-year terms. Federal insurance of mortgages arrived with the Home Loan Mortgage Corporation in 1934, saving almost a million homeowners from eviction, through re-negotiated 15-year mortgages. Subsequent federal insurance of bank accounts backed up local banks' assets, encouraged savings and made capital available for civilian mortgages through the Federal Housing Administration.

But it was the GI Bill's no-moneydown, 25- and 30-year mortgages that made the secondary loan market take off as the nation's largest pool of capital, now more than \$4 trillion, financed through government-backed corporations, Freddie Mac, Fannie Mae and Ginnie Mae. Their mortgage-backed securities held by banks, pension funds and insurance companies are "the gilt-edged bonds" of popular imagination turning the proverbial money under the mattress into liquid capital lent out to produce new wealth. The dollar value of mortgage-backed securities issued in 1998-99 was \$1.6 trillion, more than 11 times the \$141 billion issued in 1983-84.

Comparable resources are potentially available in underdeveloped countries to help finance their own GI Bills, but it's money kept under mattresses because savings, investment and property rights aren't protected by legal systems. In Egypt alone, the assets of the poor are "55 times more than all foreign investment ever recorded, including the funding of the Suez Canal and Aswan Dam," according to Hernando De Soto, head of the Institute Libertad & Democracia in Lima, Peru. "The challenge that leaders throughout the developing and former communist nations face from Russia's President Vladimir Putin to South Africa's Thabo Mbeki - is to address the fact that most of the citizens they govern do not have property rights," De Soto has written.

The GI Bill formula of home ownership, education and entrepreneurial opportunity is the only proven model for the development of individuals, families and communities. The alternative should be unacceptable in any civilized society. "A person who is deprived of something he can call his own and the possibility of earning his living through his own initiative," Pope John Paul II has written, "comes to depend upon the social machine and those who control it. This makes it more difficult for him to recognize his dignity as a person, and hinders progress toward the building up of an authentic human community.

American financial organizations, such as Fannie Mae and The Mortgage Bankers Association of America, are already exploring secondary mortgage markets in developing nations. The greatest hindrance to making the importance of such property rights understood and adopted by officials of countries with inadequate legal systems has been American economic advisers such as HIID. But, by helping officials of such countries start programs patterned after the GI Bill, just for veterans – initially – governments of underdeveloped countries would have:

- An appealing story to tell
- A constituency, veterans

 An enormous potential market Obviously, a GI Bill for Russia or South Africa, for example, couldn't be legislated quickly, but the process of legal and financial reform itself could enlist cooperation from state and community institutions alike, i.e. "micro-banks." Existing micro-banks first started in Pakistan to help women entrepreneurs, should be expanded to cover veterans and possibly police. Comparable enterprise funds have been successful in eastern Europe, lending no more than \$1,500 to plumbers, auto mechanics, builders, hairdressers, small manufacturers of toys, etc., none with more than five employees.

A few good financiers needed to advise such entrepreneurs can be found in the U.S. Armed Services. An International Development Corps could be established with a proposal Congress has under consideration now to provide current service members education benefits comparable to the World War II generation, full tuition and fees at any institution they can get into. The principal impediment to passage of the proposal, recommended two years ago by a commission headed by Anthony J. Principi, now Secretary of Veterans Affairs, are private tuition fees up to \$30,000 a year. To overcome that, an additional two years of service in the Development Corps could be required for veterans earning degrees in finance, business, architecture or engineering, for example, from private colleges, who agree to spend two years helping small entrepreneurs, community organizations and local governments to start and expand business, housing and marketing opportunities.

Every theory, every program, every business succeeds only to the extent it takes into account – and derives energy from – what Schumpeter called, "that amazing thing, the fact (emphasis his). The GI Bill was the most amazing fact about America in the last half of the 20th tentury. Its inspiration can – and should be – the most amazing fact of the world in the first half of the 21st century.

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Article design: Holly K. Soria

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THE TREE OF TYRANNY

Twenty-five years ago, two U.S. Army officers were brutally hacked to death by North Korean soldiers. Operation Paul Bunyan ensured they did not die in vain.

By Wayne Kirkbride

ometimes the simplest of things were difficult during the Cold War. This was especially true in Korea's demilitarized zone. On Aug. 6, 1976, several U.N. Command guards and workers set out to trim a Normandy poplar that was blocking the view between U.N. Command outposts in the Joint Security area. The detail was told not to cut the tree because Kim II Sung had personally planted it. The detail retired and protested the incident to a security officers' meeting, based on provisions of the 1953 armistice that ended the armed fighting of the Korean War.

The pruning was rescheduled for Aug. 18, 1976. Capt. Arthur G. Bonifas, with a year's experience in the Joint Security Area, was the most qualified officer to lead this detail of 10 guards and five workers. Within two weeks he would be going home to his wife and three small children in Newburgh, N.Y. Bonifas, a West Point graduate of the Class of 1966, had returned to his alma mater to teach prior to his assignment in Korea.

He was on the major's list, and it was only a matter of time before he would be promoted.

First Lt. Mark T. Barrett of Columbia, S.C., was the other officer on the detail. He was in his first month in country, and this seemed like a good mission to learn the ropes.

At 11 a.m., what should have been a routine tree trimming turned deadly. Initially a small North Korean force showed up to observe the work. Then came the reinforcements. When they arrived, nearly 30 North Korean guards assaulted the

U.N. Command work detail. The primary targets were the two American officers, who were brutally chopped to death with axes carried to the tree by a Korean Service Corps work detail.

Within minutes the entire Korean peninsula was on alert. I was the adjutant of the 2nd Battalion 9th Infantry (Manchu) stationed at Camp Greaves. on the northern edge of the Imiin River. We had been on alert immediately following the infiltration of three North Koreans in June 1976 that resulted in their deaths in separate armed encounters. We were the nearest infantry battalion to the Joint Security Area, and the departure of the medivac helicopters showed us how serious the situation was. We placed Company A on fiveminute alert. Likewise, the infantry units in the 3rd Brigade who manned the Guard Posts Collier and Ouellette which overlooked the DMZ were placed on increased alert.

While the higher echelons were debating options, we were breaking out our basic load of ammunition, opening boxes of TOW missiles and getting ready. The same was happening in ROK and U.S. installations all over Korea.

The options were: do nothing, start World War III, or do something in between that would be meaningful. There were contingency war plans for every situation, except for an incident at Panmunjom. However, it was clear that the tree must come down. As long as it stood, it would be a symbol of tyranny and aggression and an affront to free men everywhere. The logical name for the mission was Operation Paul Bunyan.

On Aug. 20 the decision was made. Gen. Richard Stiwell, commanding general of the 8th U.S. Army and U.N. Command, coordinated the plan with President Gerald Ford and South Korean President Park Chung Hee. The operation would kick off the next day, on Saturday, Aug. 21, 1976.

The area was a beehive of activity all night as units prepared to cut down that



U.N. soldiers are attacked by North Korean soldiers at the demilitarized zone. Two Americans were killed in the massacre which was captured by a photographer in a far-off observation post on Aug. 18, 1976.

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U.S. soldiers begin a tree-removal mission, which earlier cost the lives of two American officers.

tree at 7 a.m. Infantry units moved to helicopter pick-up zones, security forces rehearsed their plans and the rules of engagement, and liaison officers were exchanged. I became the U.S. liaison officer to the 1st ROK Division's Reconnaissance Company, the nearest armed combat troops to the tree-cutting site. The helicopters were prepared for takeoff, and the field artillery forward observers verified the target list. We would be ready to move out at first light on Saturday.

The plan was simple: An American engineer unit would drive up to the tree and begin cutting the branches. A ROK Special Forces company made up of black belts in tae kwon do would

"It wasn't the Marne, or the Ardennes, or Chip Yong Ni — but it could have been. The soldiers who marched into those battles wearing the Indianhead patch were no less unsure of the outcome than we were."

Maj. Gen. Morris Brady, Commander's Column, The Indian Head, September 1976 form a ring around the engineers. Company A, 2nd Battalion, 9th Infantry (Manchu) would also be in position with pick-axe handles to protect the engineers. Because of the provisions of the treaty, these non-U.N. Command troops were unarmed. The only armed security personnel were from the Joint Security Area, Panmuniom.

Just outside of Panmunjom was the First ROK Recon Company. In the air, with orbits that would have them no more than a minute away from Panmunjom were Companies B and C of the Manchu Battalion. Behind them were the tanks of the Gary Owens Cav, the Buccaneers of the 1st Battalion, 32 Infantry and countless ROK units. Unseen, but in the air were B-52s, F-4s, and F-111s. In addition, the 7th U.S. Fleet was in position.

The operation went as planned. At 6:45 a.m., the task force commander Lt. Col. Victor Vierra gave a message to the joint duty officer to be handed to his North Korean counterpart: "At 0700 hours, a United Nations Command work force will enter the Joint Security Area to complete the task begun on Wednesday. Should there be no interference, this work will be completed and the work force will leave." The first element crossed the start point minutes later.

Twelve minutes later the task force entered the Joint Security Area and moved directly to the tree. The engineers began to trim the tree as the 64 ROK Special Forces soldiers and Company A, 2nd Battalion, 9th Infantry (Manchu) moved to their locations.

The 1st ROK Recon Company

moved to its position, and a truck was parked at the end of the "Bridge of No Return" to prevent a North Korean reaction force from interfering. Other engineer trucks began pulling out illegal barriers constructed by the North Koreans.

The first branch came down at 7:18 a.m. Poplar trees are very sappy, and the engineers had a difficult time cutting through the branches. The saw gummed up quickly. In addition, it was almost impossible to get the correct cutting angle that would prevent the weight of the branch from bearing down on the saw. In the end, 13 saws were used. The third and final branch was cut down as 1st Lt. George L. Deason made the cut as his platoon formed a human chain holding on both sides.

A North Korean security force ran out to halt the operation. But they were held back because their leaders knew that they did not have the power to overcome this task force.

Within 45 minutes, the task force removed the illegal barriers and completed the tree-cutting mission initiated earlier that week. The task force carried out much of the tree, leaving only the stump to remind all who would visit Pammunjom of the resolve of the U.N. Command to maintain freedom in the Republic of Korea.

The forces in Korea remained on alert status for nearly a month. The North Koreans regretted the incident occurred. The State Department demanded an apology but realized that a regret was all that the North Koreans were going to give. The memory of the operation will remain a part of the soldiers who participated in it. It wasn't the greatest operation, but it demonstrated that the U.N. Command had the resolve to maintain its freedom of movement and that it would take the necessary steps to ensure its rights were not violated in the Joint Security Area.



Wayne Kirkbride, a retired lieutenant colonel, was a U.S. Army liaison officer to the 1st ROK Infantry Division during Operation Paul Bunyan. He is the author of

"DMZ: A Story of the Panmunjom Åxe Murder," and "Panmunjom: Facts About the Korean DMZ."

Article design: Doug Rollison

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WEB OFFERS SAVINGS ON DRUGS

Cyber-elixirs can be obtained safely.

By Tara Parker-Pope

ven for Web-savvy shoppers, venturing online to buy prescription drugs can be scary.

But braving cyberspace is well worth it. At a time when many older Americans don't have prescription-drug insurance coverage, online drug stores promise savings of as much as 40 percent.

Buying drugs over the Internet doesn't mean choosing lesser brands, generics or lower-quality products. Internet pharmacies are cheaper because they have lower overhead and inventory costs than their bricks-and-mortar competitors. And Web drug stores use real pharmacists to confirm prescriptions and check each order, but the actual pill sorting is done by machine.

To be sure you're dealing with a reputable site, always shop at pharmacies that require you to mail a prescription or provide your doctor's phone number to confirm the order.

Avoid sites that don't require prescriptions or use their own "online physician" or a questionnaire to prescribe drugs. The site also should include access to a real pharmacist by email or telephone.

Another way to protect yourself is to look for sites that carry the Verified Internet Pharmacy Practice Sites seal showing they're certified by the National Association of Boards of Pharmacy.

To get started buying drugs online, it's a good idea to comparison shop. Drugs come in a variety of pill sizes and amounts, so it's best to look at the per-pill price rather than the total prescription price.

Search Engines. One of the best search engines is www.Destination-RX.com, which doesn't sell drugs but compares prices among several big Web pharmacies.

Type in the popular cholesterol-lowering drug Zocor and you'll find the best price at www.WebRx.com. where 90 tablets in the 40milligram dose sell for \$293.86, or 17 percent less than the average national retail price of \$354.18. WebRx also sells a 100pill bottle of the 100-milligram dose of the arthritis drug Celebrex for \$123, or \$1.23 a pill, 26 percent less than the \$165.22 average charge. And www.PrescriptionsByMail.com sells the bladder-control drug Ditropan in 100-pill bottles of the 5-milligram dose for \$70.22, a whop-

ping 44-percent savings over the average price of \$124.55.

Because drug prices can vary by region, it's always worth a call to your local pharmacy to be sure you're getting the best price. In addition, many local pharmacies offer senior discounts or participate in programs like RxAmerica, which offers discounts of as much as 20 percent to American Legion members. More information can be found at www.legion.org.

Some online pharmacies offer services that local drug stores can't. One site – www.drugstore.com – helps users track prescriptions and notifies customers of drug recalls. Another site – www.SafeDose.com – helps patients with multiple prescriptions keep track of their daily doses. The shopper orders all of his or her drugs from the site, and the company creates individually wrapped packets labeled with the day, date and time the pills should be taken.

Canadian Bargains. For even bigger savings, many people shop at online pharmacies based in Canada, where government price controls keep drug prices low. Three of the biggest sites are www.theCanadianDrugstore.com, www.CanadaRX.net and www.Canadameds.com. Canada-based sites usually require a Canadian doctor to confirm a U.S. prescription and write a new one. Some might require the drugs be sent directly to a doctor based in the United States. In addition to offering savings



of as much as 50 percent, the Canadian Web sites often sell generic drugs that aren't yet available in the United States.

But users should know that buying and importing drugs from Canada is technically illegal in the United States. Exceptions are often made if the medication is needed for a serious health problem, and the treatment isn't yet available here. In those cases, the patient can import three months of the drug for personal use.

Reputable online sites won't charge you to ship prescriptions, and www.drugstore.com even lets you pick up your order at a local Rite Aid. Most reputable Internet pharmacies send email reminders about refills.

Finally, be prepared to spend a little extra time on your first order to register on the site and provide prescription and physician information. Future orders and refills will only take as long as the click of a mouse.

Living Well is a column written to provide general information to our readers. It is not intended to be, nor is it, medical advice. Readers should consult their personal physicians when they have health problems.

Tara Parker-Pope writes a weekly health column for The Wall Street Journal and is the author of "Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke."



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Legion revives support network

To assist active-duty military personnel juggling personal responsibilities with service in the armed forces, The American Legion is recharging its Family Support Network. The program has helped thousands of families personally affected by activeduty military service since the Gulf War.

Since the program began in 1990, Legionnaires across the United States have mowed lawns, provided baby-sitting services, made minor home repairs, washed cars and even helped pay bills for families whose lives were disrupted by a sudden call to action.

The Family Support Network also has financial-assistance opportunities for GIs with minor children, such as the Temporary Financial Assistance program.

Service members are encouraged to call toll-free, (800) 504-4098, when services are needed. The number has remained available through the peacekeeping missions of the 1990s and is now in its second decade.

BE A PART OF THE NATION'S LARGEST VETERANS ORGANIZATION

The American Legion is an organization of veterans serving other veterans, their families and communities. The Legion serves as the veteran's voice in Washington, D.C., fighting for the benefits and rights of those who served our country in the armed forces.

Membership eligibility is based upon dates set forth by Congress. Eligibility dates are from 4/6/17 to 1/11/1/18; 12/7/41 to 12/31/46; 6/25/50 to 1/31/55; 2/28/61 to 5/7/75; 8/24/82 to 7/31/84; 12/20/89 to 1/31/90; and from 8/2/90 to present.

For information concerning membership, write The American Legion, Attn. Membership Division, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, IN 46206-1055; call (800) 433-3318; e-mail ia@legion.org; or visit the Web site at www.legion.org/membership.htm.



Ruth Tout of Indianapolis visited the crash site on Sharp Top Mountain where her brother's plane crashed 58 years ago. A week after the ceremony for the lost airmen, a memorial was placed at the site. Earlier this year, Virginia's state government and the city of Bedford proclaimed Feb. 2 Forgotten Airmen Day.

Virginia honors Forgotten Airmen

On Feb. 2, 1943, five airmen died when their B-25 bomber crashed in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Bedford County, Va., while on a routine training mission. More than 58 years later, in a stirring Memorial Day ceremony, surviving relatives joined local citizens in honoring Virginia's "Forgotten Airmen."

Honored were: Second Lt. George R. Beninga, bombardier, 23, Marietta, Minn.; Cpl. Peter J. Biscan, flight engineer, 29, Chicago; Second Lt. Hilary S. Blackwell, navigator, 22, Santa Monica, Calif.; Second Lt. William C. McClure, copilot, 22, Indianapolis; and Second Lt. Paul M. Pitts, pilot, 21, Poteau. Okla.

Gathered at Lynchburg Regional Airport, more than 100 people, including 25 family members from across the nation, looked skyward, anticipating the arrival of a restored B-25J Mitchell bomber flown in for the occasion from Maryland by Larry Kelley. Kelley's bomber, *Panchito*, which he displays around the country, is identical to the one flown during the ill-fated mission in 1943.

As the B-25 taxied toward the hangar, the crowd erupted with cheers of appreciation for the World War II military relic.

During the ceremony, a bronze memorial plaque honoring the Forgotten Airmen was unveiled.

"It's time to honor these men and their

families after all these years," said Jeffrey Clemens, a local pastor who worked to ensure the airmen are remembered.

William Overstreet, a pilot who flew with the 357th Fighter Group – one of World War II's most highly decorated units – spoke of the intense patriotism during the war. He recalled the story of a close friend who, without hesitation, laid down his life to save others.

Bedford's Legion Post 16 Commander Edward Whitten and Post Adjutant Emmett Burley recognized the efforts of those who kept the memory of the airmen alive: Pastor Clemens, who located surviving family members, raised funds for the plaque and organized the ceremony; Don and Elaine Yeargin, whose Web site about the B-25 crash has attracted more than 50,000 visitors since 1999; and Kelley, for his efforts in educating the public about World War II through his restored B-25. Post 16 also awarded Clemens, who served in U.S. Army Military Intelligence from 1982 to 1986, a 1-year membership to The American Legion.

Following the ceremony, Kelley flew family members over Sharp Top Mountain and the crash site.

For more information about Virginia's "Forgotten Airmen," visit the Web site at www.wp21.com/b25crash.

-Elissa Kaupisch

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Bush dedicates the National D-Day Memorial

A flag-waving crowd of 22,000 greeted President George W. Bush at the dedication ceremony of the National D-Day Memorial in Bedford, Va., on June 6, the 57th anniversary of D-Day. The crowd was the largest gathering of D-Day veterans since the invasion's 50th anniversary at Normandy, France, in 1994.

D-Day, the largest invasion of its kind, included more than 5,000 ships, 10,000 planes and 250,000 servicemen and women. It was the decisive battle that heralded the end of Hitler's dream of Nazi domination.

Patriotic and reverent tribute provided the emotional tone of the ceremony on the massive grounds atop the rolling foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains in Bedford County.

American, British and Canadian D-

Day veterans read the memoirs of other D-Day veterans reather than speaking of their own experiences. Eisenhower's D-Day order was read, as well as a prayer by Franklin D. Roosevelt, a passage from Anne Frank's diary and Winston Churchill's D-Day announcement.

Bedford was chosen as the site for the memorial because the small town, which had a population of 3,200 in 1944, lost more casualties to the D-Day invasion per capita than any other city in the United States. Bush acknowledged this in his dedication speech.

"You have raised a fitting memorial to D-Day," Bush said, "and you have put it in the right place – not on a battlefield, but in a small Virginia town, a place like so many others that were home to the men and women that helped liberate a continent."

The memorial, which stands atop the tallest hill in Bedford, sits on 88 acres of memorial grounds owned by the National D-Day Memorial Foundation. The

15-acre memorial includes two sections: a 9-acre monument and a 49,000-square-foot education center. Construction of the education center will begin later this year and is scheduled for completion in 2003.

The impressive 9-acre monument is divided into three sections: Victory Plaza, Middle Plaza and the English Garden. The single-acre Victory Plaza, representing victory and consolidation, has as its focal point a 44-foot, 6-inch-tall polished granite arch emblazoned with the word "Overlord." Operation Overlord was the code name chosen by Winston Churchill for the D-Day invasion. The arch's dimensions were chosen to indicate D-Day: 44 feet represents the year 1944, while the 6 inches represent June 6. The arch is surrounded by flags representing the Allied na-

tions that participated in the invasion.

Middle Plaza, representing the invasion itself and certainly the most moving section, was constructed to illustrate the D-Day landing scene. Its reflecting pool represents the English Channel, and the beach represents battles on all the beaches. Several life-size bronze soldiers are depicted wading through the shallow waters and onto the beach, some carrying the burdens of wounded comrades. One soldier lies dead on the beach, with his Bible spilling out of his pack. Near the water's edge is an artist's rendering in granite of a Higgins landing craft. Small underwater fountains periodically shoot water into the air, giving an eerie feeling of stray enemy bullets hitting the water, just short of hitting Allied forces.

On the other side of the reflecting pool arises a walled structure 19 feet tall and 8 feet wide, representing the cliffs that Allied forces encountered at Normandy. Four bronze Army Rangers are depicted climbing the cliff, one soldier clinging to a rope with one hand and his wounded buddy with the other.

The English Garden, when completed, will represent the planning and preparation phases of the Allied invasion. One of the highlights of the garden is an arrangement of flowering plants to resemble the shoulder patch worn by Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower when he was the supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces. A colorful floral flaming sword fills the center of the "patch." An English garden theme was chosen because strategic planning and preparation for D-Day took place in England.

For more information about the National D-Day Memorial, visit the Web site at www.dday.org.

-Special thanks to Nick Soukhanov who contributed to this article.



A walled structure at the D-Day Memorial in Virginia depicts Army Rangers climbing the cliffs at Normandy.

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PNC Wagonseller passes away

Past National Commander James M. Wagonseller of Lancaster, Ohio, passed away May 26 at the age of 80. A member of Post 8 in Fairfield, Ohio, he was a World War II Army Air Corps

veteran with 56 vears of Legion membership.

Wagonseller served as national commander from 1974 to 1975 and as national vice commander from



1960 to 1961. He held several national and department positions.

"One of the things he was always interested in and proud of was the development of the Department of Ohio," Past National Commander John H. Geiger said.

Wagonseller graduated from Lancaster High School in 1939 and two years later joined the Army Air Corps, 11 months prior to the outbreak of World War II. An armorer and gunner on B-24s, Wagonseller flew on 40 missions in the European Theater of Operations. He received the Distinguished Flying Cross for his heroic efforts during a June 11, 1944, bombing run against enemy oil installations in Romania.

After the bombs in his plane failed to release, Wagonseller entered the open bomb bay and manually released the bombs by cutting their cables with a small saw. He did so despite the lack of oxygen at an altitude of 20,000 feet.

Geiger said one of Wagonseller's biggest duties during his year as commander was moving the National Magazine Commission from New York to its current home in Indianapolis.

Wagonseller is survived by two sons and a daughter. Memorial contributions can be made to The American Legion Child Welfare Foundation, P.O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, IN 46206.



Marine Sgt. Shawna Clay, right, visits the Maj. Gen. John A. Lejeune Memorial with North Carolina Department Commander Horace Nixon.

Semper Fi: 'Reconnect' at Lejeune

Legionnaires were treated to rain. mud and cold during a late-April visit with Marines at Camp Lejeune, N.C.

"I thought I was back in basic training," said North Carolina Department Commander Horace Nixon, an Army veteran. "I was amazed watching the Marines storm the beach while I was freezing on the pier, getting wet from the rain. That water must have been 40 degrees and they were jumping in with no wet suits on.

The Legionnaires spent two days at the base as part of The American Legion's Reconnect program. Inspired by former Defense Secretary William Cohen's goal to "strengthen and sustain the bond between America and its great military," Legionnaires have visited Fort Sill, Okla.; Fort Knox, Ky.; Fort Benning, Ga.; Fort Bragg, N.C.; and several other military installations.

During the Lejeune visit, Legionnaires witnessed one of the Marine Corps' largest capability demonstration exercises, featuring air, ground and sea elements of the II Marine Expeditionary Force. Planning for the exercise, according to the base newspaper The Globe, lasted 45 days and involved more than 1,000 Marines and civilians.

Even though Camp Leieune was officially recognized as a "model installation" by the Defense Department, Legionnaires left with two impressions: the Marines are doing a magnificent job, but their pay and benefits are lacking.

Capt. Michelle Kane, a planning officer at the base, said she is concerned about her lower-ranking troops. "Marines may bring their kids to a hospital off base and get stuck with the bill." She also said that the wait-time for some Marines to obtain base housing is sometimes a year and a half.

Despite the quality-of-life concerns, Ohio Department Commander Ron Easter was impressed with the dedication and pride he saw in the Marines. "I think they stand ready, and the country is in good hands."

The Lejeune visit was a homecoming for Easter, who was stationed there from 1954 to 1956. "I thought the Marines were outstanding but I am very concerned about what I was hearing about the military's TRICARE (health) insurance program. Nobody seemed happy with it, including the generals that I talked to. If the Legion is to help them, we have to hear this."

-John Raughter

Bush OKs WWII Memorial

Congress and the Bush administration did the right thing by removing roadblocks to construction of the World War II Memorial, American Legion National Commander Ray G. Smith said.

Congress approved and President Bush signed HR 1696 permitting construction of the National World War II Memorial on the National Mall in Washington. The American Legion fought for

passage of the legislation.

The idea of a national World War II memorial was first introduced in Congress by Rep. Marcy Kaptur, D-Ohio, in 1987 and passed Congress in 1993. President Clinton signed legislation authorizing the project, and the next year Congress designated its location on the Mall. The memorial received all the necessary approvals by planners and commissions last year, but construction never began because a lawsuit was filed by several groups opposed to the site and design.

The Save Our Mall coalition argued that the project would disrupt the vista between the Washington and Lincoln monuments. The opponents' lawsuit, filed in October, alleged various violations of federal law during the review process and blocked

selection of a contractor.

HR 1696 nullifies the lawsuit by forbidding any further judicial or administrative review of decisions already made

concerning the project.

The memorial design spans 7.4 acres of the mall between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial at the east end of the Reflecting Pool. Plans call for a sunken stone plaza, two four-story arches to the north and south to memorialize victory in Europe and the Pacific, and a circle of 56 17-foot granite pillars capped by bronze wreaths to symbolize the unity of the 50 states and U.S. territories.

The American Battle Monuments Commission, the memorial's sponsor, announced that a \$56 million contract to build the memorial has been awarded to the joint venture of Tompkins Builders and Grunley-Walsh Construction.

Mike Conley, ABMC spokesman, said construction could begin within two months of the president's signing of the bill nullifying the lawsuit. The memorial is scheduled to be completed in 2004.

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DINNSENDES STOP CAMEE

Screening helps lower incidence of colorectal disease.

By Dr. John R. Feussner

rom one perspective, news about colorectal cancer is encouraging. The American Cancer Society reports that incidence rates and deaths from the disease have declined substantially in recent years, most likely because screening has allowed for the removal of polyps before they develop into invasive cancers. This progress, however, also points to the potential for even greater advances in dealing with this serious health problem.

Colorectal cancer remains the second leading cause of cancer death in North America, Approximately 1 million veterans age 50 and older will develop colorectal cancer, and more than 400,000 will die from it. The five-year survival rate for veterans with the disease is only 40 percent - significantly lower than that of the general population, perhaps because risk factors are more common among veterans.

Risk Factors and Symptoms. Early detection and awareness of risk factors are the best ways to reduce the impact of colorectal cancer. The disease is more common among those older than 50. Other factors that appear to increase the risk of developing the disease include:

- · Diets low in fiber and high in fat and calories.
- · History of the disease among close relatives (parents, children, brothers and sisters).
- · Previous occurrence of colorectal
- · Occurrence of some types of benign polyps in the colon and rectum.
- · History of ulcerative colitis, an inflammation of the colon's lining.
- · History of cancer of the ovaries, uterus or breasts.

The signs and symptoms of colorectal cancer also may be caused by other conditions, so it is important to consult a doctor when they occur. They include changes in bowel habits, blood in the stool, narrower stools than usual, unexplainable weight loss, diarrhea, constipation and abdominal pain.

Reducing Risks, Research has shown that colorectal cancer develops from benign polyps, so early detection of polyps may help prevent the disease. The U.S. Preventive Services Task Force, an independent panel of experts convened by the U.S. Public Health Service, recommends that men and women begin

screening at age 50 - earlier for those with risk factors for colorectal cancer with a fecal occult blood test (FOBT) or sigmoidoscopy. Widely used screening methods include:

- · FOBT, which detects small amounts of blood that may be caused by polyps or cancer.
- · Sigmoidoscopy, which uses a flexible, lighted instrument to examine the rectum and lower colon.
- · Colonoscopy, which examines the entire colon with a flexible, lighted instrument.
- · Barium enema, which involves xrays of the rectum and colon.

If results are normal, the FOBT should be repeated annually, the sigmoidoscopy every five years - or you should have a colonoscopy every 10 years. If the exam detects polyps or cancer, the patient has an early opportunity to undergo surgery, which frequently cures cancers that have not spread.

VA Research. The VA Office of Research and Development supports a substantial effort aimed at preventing and treating colorectal cancer.

A major clinical study, conducted under the VA Cooperative Studies Program, found that a colonoscopy may be superior to the commonly used sigmoidoscopy for detecting colon cancer and the precancerous polyps that lead to the disease. These results may lead to improvement in our ability to diagnose



and treat the disease, and may ultimately result in substantially reduced costs of care.

Many other VA research projects also contribute to our understanding of colorectal cancer. Doctors in Madison, Wis., are examining genetic mutations that may contribute to development of the disease. Researchers in Durham, N.C., are studying risk factors that may explain why veterans with colorectal cancer have a worse survival rate than the population at large. A group of VA scientists in Denver is part of a coloncancer prevention project funded by the National Cancer Institute.

VA recognizes that colorectal cancer is a major health concern among veterans. It is a leader in improving prevention and treatment of the disease. If you wish to do the best thing to lower your risk of developing colon cancer, see your doctor and ask to receive a colonoscopy.

Veterans Health is a column written to provide general information to our readers. It is not intended to be, nor is it, medical advice. Readers should consult their personal physicians when they have health problems.



John R. Feussner, M.D., M.P.H., is chief research and development officer of the Veterans Health Administration.

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Another U.N. outrage

Do you think of the Virgin Islands as America's Caribbean paradise? According to the United Nations, the U.S. posession is actually a "colonial territory" in need of liberation.

The United Nations' 11th regional "decolonization" seminar was conducted in May in communist Cuba, a country considered free and independent by U.N. standards. At the opening ceremony, Santa Lucia Foreign Minister Julian Hunte praised Cuba for its "consistent and lasting support to the combat against colonialism and to the self-determination of peoples."

U.N. Secretary-General Koft Annan said that the process of freeing colonies from their oppressors must be seen through to its end. The Virgin Islands and American Samoa were listed by the United Nations as "non-self-governing territories" that must be freed from colonial rule.

American Samoa, another U.S. territory, is a chain of seven islands considered "America's South Pacific paradise." If you visit American Samoa on its Flag Day, April 17, you'll observe a wide variety of events commemorating the raising of the U.S. Flag there in 1900.

But according to the United Nations, Samoans have not attained their independence from the United States in accordance with various U.N. General Assembly resolutions and are not truly free.

Flame still going

A plan to save energy by extinguishing a natural gas-fed eternal flame at the veterans' memorial in Lawrence, Kan., was reversed just before Memorial Day. Plans were to shut off the flame at Oak Hill Cemetery because of rising energy costs exceeding city budgets.

Veterans' groups, led by The American Legion, protested along with citizens. One posted a message on the Lawrence Journal-World newspaper Web site saying, "This really makes me sick in my heart and in my stomach that anyone could even think of turning the flame out. The people in these graves are our veterans. They died for this country and are gone forever, never to enjoy life, never to kiss or hold their loved ones."

"We owe it to the veterans to keep that flame lit," Douglas County Undersheriff Bill Shepard, a retired Marine captain, told Lawrence city commissioners. They agreed. Commissioner Marty Kennedy

International Criminal Court targets Americans

If the United States ever opts to recognize the legitimacy of the International Criminal Court, military service personnel should beware. Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., the new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, recently endorsed the ICC concept and could bring it up for a vote. He has declined to cosponsor the American Servicemembers' Protection Act, a bill to protect U.S. military personnel and U.S. officials from prosecution by the ICC.

The ICC, which is now coming into existence, is not retroactive. But it could prosecute American military personnel in the future for "war crimes." Judges for such a tribunal could come from Iraq, Libya or China.

The influential liberal group Human Rights Watch, which supports the ICC, has asked Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to consider prosecuting former Sen. Bob Kerrey, D-Neb., for "war crimes" during the Vietnam War. While acknowledging Human Rights Watch has not independently investigated the February 1969 killings that took place under



U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annon and Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini show the book of the treaty that created the International Criminal Court, during the signing ceremony in Rome in 1998.

Kerrey's command, the group's executive director, Kenneth Roth, suggested Kerrey's Navy Seal team may have violated the Geneva Convention on the treatment of civilians during war. Roth said the convention has no statute of limitations and that forces committing violations must be "held accountable." If U.S. officials don't hold them accountable, the ICC could.

-C.K.

said he thought rising gas prices for the flame would add only \$600 to the city's bill. "I'm hard-pressed to say we don't have \$600 someplace to keep this flame on and keep our commitment to our fellow citizens," he told the newspaper.

Late night for Strom

Republican senators are still upset over the treatment of Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C., 98, who was exhausted and forced to stay up late into the night during marathon voting on tax-cut legislation in May. "It was an issue of compassion," one senator said.

Thurmond, who refused to miss a vote, laid down to rest near the Senate chamber between votes. Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., offered a deal to leave the floor and not vote, in exchange for Thurmond being dismissed to go home.

An anonymous Republican senator reported that Sen. Hillary Clinton, D-N.Y., and others argued against the deal to accommodate Thurmond. But Biden said Clinton wasn't to blame.

Republicans were pleased by Biden's offer to help Thurmond, but they said Democrats opposed to the deal were trying to win at all costs by tiring out frail senators.

The Senate adjourned before the agreement could be worked out.

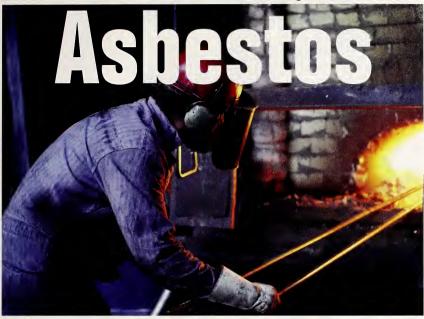
Reware of GL Joe

A boy has been suspended from school for bringing a "violent" and "upsetting" drawing of GI Joe to school. Trey was reported by a fellow student who saw the drawing in his school notebook. It showed a camouflaged soldier armed with hand grenades and knives. The student told the teacher who told the principal, and Trey was suspended for one day.

With the help of the Rutherford Institute, Trey's father, Raleigh, has sued the Ouachita Parish School System, alleging the boy's constitutional rights to free speech were violated. Rutherford said the so-called "zero tolerance" anti-violence policies have gone too far.

- Cliff Kincaid

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Bush launches VA, DoD task force

Health care for the nation's veterans is the focus of a presidential task force commissioned to improve coordination between the Department of Veterans Affairs and the Department of Defense.

President George W. Bush announced creation of the task force on Memorial Day at the White House. "We must improve the way VA and DoD work together to provide health care to those who have served in uniform," Bush said.

The task force's goals are to improve access to veterans' benefits and to strengthen VA-DoD partnerships for health-care services. Among items to be studied are budgeting processes, billing, reimbursement, procurement of supplies and services, data sharing and information technology. The final report is due at the end of the task force's second year of operation.

Coordination between VA and DoD is a key element in Secretary of Veterans Affairs Anthony J. Principi's agenda. "I think the walls separating the departments are too high," Principi said. "Both departments spend millions of dollars that could be saved annually if VA and DoD pooled resources, equipment and medical services."

An example of a VA and DoD costsavings agreement is a memorandum of understanding in 1998 to establish standardized procedures for active-duty separation physicals. Standardization of physicals enables VA to more quickly process claims for service-connected disability compensation.

"Unfortunately, only 10 percent of the approximately 215,000 military men and women being discharged each year receive their exams under this program," Principi said. "Although the program has had great success, we still have a long way to go."

Heading the 15-member task force are former New York congressman Gerald B.H. Solomon, a longtime veterans' advocate who served in the Marine Corps during the Korean War, and Dr. Gail R. Wilensky, a prominent expert on health policy who ran the Health Care Financing Administration for former President George H. Bush.

Army Women's Museum opens

A museum focusing on the impact of Army women once again is ready for visitors. It has a new name, new location, expanded displays and more artifacts.

The Women's Army Corps Museum at Fort McClellan, Ala., lost its home in 1999 when the fort was closed as part of a Pentagon plan to consolidate military bases. It was initially feared that 5,000 artifacts at the museum would be locked away and lost to history, but the Army agreed to relocate at Fort Lee, Va., the home of the first WAC training center.

The museum's name was changed from the Women's Army Corps Museum, as it was known at Fort McClellan, to the Army Women's Museum. The Army wants to broaden the museum's focus beyond the WAC, which was disbanded in 1978 to end gender separation in the Army.

The museum contains a gallery portraying scenes of U.S. conflicts from the Revolutionary War to Kosovo. Thousands of items are on display, including WAC uniforms, recruiting posters, bunks from a World War II barracks at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, and a collection of artifacts that belonged to Harriet West Waddy, the first black woman commissioned as an Army officer.

It is the only museum devoted exclusively to the history of women in the Army. Museum director Jerry Burgess and a small civilian staff run it.

For more information, contact the Army Women's Museum at its Web site, www.awm.lee.army.mil or call (804) 734-4327.

D-Day Pacific Wing to open

Sixty years after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, the National D-Day Museum in New Orleans will dedicate its Pacific Wing to honor veterans of the Pacific invasion forces, their families and home-front workers.

The National D-Day Museum is the only museum in America dedicated to the remembrance of all of the amphibious invasions of World War II, in both the European and Pacific theaters, said Dr. Gordon H. Nick Mueller, foundation chairman.

A number of public activities are scheduled during the ceremonies, including citywide pealing of the bells memorializing the moment 60 years earlier when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. The public also is invited to a three-day open house on the Mississippi River at the USS Iwo Jima, USCGC Munro, MV Cape Kennedy and SS Pacific Victory. An official Department of Defense military parade will honor Pacific veterans of World War II. Each series

vice will provide ceremonial marching and musical units, as well as an all-service aerial flyover and review.

Veterans also will reminisce with the public and share their experiences with panels of noted World War II historians and experts. The public is invited to attend a two-day film festival of World War II motion pictures such as "Guadalcanal Diary" and "Sands of Iwo Jima."

Also featured will be a re-enactment of a World War II Pacific landing, and sailors and Marines will demonstrate modern amphibious capabilities. A vintage aircraft fly-over will also be part of the attraction. The USO of New York will recreate the excitement of a World War II canteen during the swing era.

For more information about the National D-Day Museum or dedication of the Pacific Wing, contact the museum Web site at www.ddaymuseum.org or call toll-free (800) 273-4463. In the New Orleans area, call (504) 410-0221.

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"I bought it for my husband, but it was going to benefit me. He snored so much, so loud that I felt I almost needed to go outside and apologize to my neighbors. It was that loud... He's been using it for 6-8 months. [The change] happened overnight, it was immediate: S. Fernandez

"I tried nose drops and those breath things you stick across your nose. Nothing worked. I had tried other products on the market, and those didn't work. D-Snore works."

--Dorothy Burks



HOW TO USE NATIONAL REUNION REGISTRY*

The National Reunion Registry handles all reunion information services for The American Legion Magazine. NRR, a division of Military Information Enterprises, Inc., is a private organization that provides information about reunions, helps veterans locate old buddies and offers other special benefits to veterans and their families.

NRR maintains contact information on thousands of reunions and

provides this information free of charge to veterans.

There are several ways to register reunions or check reunion listings with the National Reunion Registry. Please contact the organization directly by writing to NRR/Reunions, PO Box 17118, Spartanburg, SC 29301, by faxing (864) 595-0813 or via e-mail at information@militaryUSA.com. Due to the large number of reunions, NRR cannot accept phone requests for reunion information.

To register a reunion, you should include the complete name of the

organization and branch of service with your request. The request should also include the reunion dates and city, along with a contact name and telephone number. Please also include a size estimate of the group.

Using the Internet is the quickest, most accurate way to access the reunion registry. You may check to see if your buddies are planning a reunion by visiting NRR's Web site at www.MilitaryUSA.com. To promote the best accuracy and fastest process when listing your reunion, complete the Reunion Registration Form available on the Web site.

LOCATING A BUDDY

MilitaryUSA.com offers many services for veterans, including tips and techniques for locating current or former military members. How To Locate Anyone Who Is or Has Been in the Military: Armed Forces Locator Guide is a practical guide to help people locate service members. The publication can be purchased by contacting MIE Publishing, P.O. Box 17118, Spartanburg, SC 29301 or by faxing (864) 595-0813.

Editor's Note — Beginning with this issue, reunion notices will be organized numerically and alphabetical-ly for readers' convenience.

AIR FORCE

1st AACS Sqdn Mobile, Newport, RI, 10/9-11, Don Devine, 181 Arts 3 squir Moure, Newport, H, 1199-11, Don Devine, 3652 (241-4865, difevine@attert 1st Air Commando Assa, Philadelphia, 10/3-7, Felix Lockman, (610) 532-1942; 151 Weather Gro Othut AFB, Ouncil Bluffs, IA, 10/14-16, Ed Rehberg, (319) 393-9339, rehberg@hylowa.infi.net; 2nd ARUF, Nashville, TN, 10/3-6, Daniel Tibere, (724) 239-5644, drieg@bettcom.net, 5th AF Bit Fir Grp 5644, drijet@bentcom.net, 5th AF 8th Fir Grp 8th/33rd/35th/56th/60th Fir Cm Sqdns and Support Units, Ft. Walton Beach, Et., 10/25-27, John Mark, (847) 678-5075, omrangsof @ada.com. 5th AF 8th Serv Grp 65th Serv Sqdn, Myrte Beach, SC, 10/12-15, John Sdort, 6(13) 689-1695 5th AF 5th Comm Grp, St. Louis, 10/17-20, Billie Ogden Jr., (639) 946-7665, bogen 10/10/260, clot 8th AF 1st Start Air Dep, Branson, MO, 10/27-30, Herb Kaster, (856) 751-1763

8th AF 358th Ftr Grp, Charleston, SC, 10/4-6, Lubberlus Lok Jr., (5/0) 629-3488, 8th AF 359th Ftr Grp, Branson, Mo, 10/11-14, Charles Staley, 680, 362-5515, 8th, 9th AF 368th Bomb Group Assan, Tampa, Ft. 1024-28, Barnett Young, (941) 482-5099, smraaudert @junn.com; 8th AF 446th Bomb Grp H, New Orleans, 10/3-5, 8th Davenport, 7/14, 852-2825, bistory446-@earthink net, 8th AF 487th Bomb Grp H, St. Louis, 10/3-7, Howard Tost, (3/4) 8271-9449, hotzling-good-com; 8th Recon Teel Sight, Hayward, 4449, hotzling-good-com; 8th Recon Teel Sight, Hayward, 5449, htchdf@aol.com; sth Recon Tex Sqdn, Hayward, W1, 105-7, Chuck Kinneberg, (715 865-2202, ckinn@ cheqnet.net; sth AF 368th Fir Grp, Reno, NV, 10/8-12, Randolph Goulding, (687) 333-2241, ropuding/gip.com; sth AF 387th Bomb Grp 556th-559th Bomb Sqdns, San Diego, CA, 10/3-7, Lloyd Swenson, (760) 360-8057, Iswen123@earthlink.net

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44th Eng, Gettysburg, PA, October, Albert Cline, (864) 489-6528; 45th Surp Hosp Verham, Washington, 11/9-11, Bradley Burns, (419) 289-4942, cookyop00@earthimknet, 51st Eng Comm Bn, Parksville, NY, 10/4-7, Leonard Weil, (615) 254-5005, 56th Amph Tank and Tract Bp, FL Worth, TX, 10/8-10, Jack Budler, (309) 532-6402, ben-barb@webn.ret, 51st Arty 3rd Bn 24th Gnr, Colorado Springs, CO, 10/7-9, Jee Corle, (801) 681-3567, wcorle@aol.com; 53rd Int Div Assan, Wingine Basen, VA, 9/28-10/1, Barney Forrest, (610) 489-9523; 68th AAA Gun Bn Korea, Branson,

MO. 10/18-21, Bobby Burks. (573) 636-2030, bobbyburks@at corn, 88th Silg Bn, St. Louis, 10/5-6, Larry Orentia, 4(19) 686-5464, 75th FA Bn Korea, Atbrougeney, MN, 10/(3-17), N. Vanderhave, 1973) 538-7189, 90th Int I Dis Natl Assn, San Antonio, 840-942, Cassy Sept. (708) 534-294, destherandcasey@velbv.net, 95th FA Bn Korea, Albuquenue, NM, 10/13-17, N. Vanderhave, 1973) 538-7189, 132nd GDt Eng, Venice, EL, 10/18-21, Eugene Recknage, 1262 54-74-77; 138th Eng Cht Bn, Savannah, 6A, 10/16-19, Robert Alkins, 1913) 772-8176, raatkins@lvmworth.com; 135th, 159th FA Bns Korea, Albuquerque, MN, 10/13-17, N. Vanderhave, 1973) 538-7189, 160th Eng C Bn, Louisville, KY, 10/11-14, Max Roberts, (661) 466-1493; 133rd Med Bn, Altanta, 10/12-14, Jose Wilkes (803) 781-7726.

176th FA Bn Korea, Albuquerque, MM, 10/13-17, N. Vanderhave, (973) 538-7189; 199th Cht Eng, Shakope, MN, 10/12-14, Ray Sanders, (507) 334-4445; 204th FA Bn Korea, Albuquerque, MM, 10/13-17, N. Vanderhave, (973) 538-7189; 243rd Forr Lo, Myrde Beach, SC, 10/4-6, Melvin Accobson, (614) 723-6278, 251st Eng, Gettysburg, PA, October, Albert Cline, (664) 489-6528, 321st Sig Bn, Bllow, Sig 10/18-21, Donald Rormig, (604) 835-1024, princring/@earth.net; 361st Eng Const Bn, Asheville, NC, 10/19-20, Delmer Wallen Sr., (423) 247-3933, wallen@charterin.net; 362nd Sig Co, Washington, 10/26-28, Bob Doer; (618) 867-257; bob doer@cercon.net; 366th Gay, Madison, W., 9/13-16, Comrie Wegner, (14) 258-2248; 398th AAA AW Bn, Korea, Warnsburg, MO, 10/4-7, Lawrence Lockard, (660) 747-8549

421st Eng Truck Co, Emporia, KS, 9/15-16, Kenneth Hastings, (620) 273-8302; **425th MP Escort Guard Co**, Charlotte, NC, 11/9-10, Louis Henderson, (904) 641-5250 Chardine, NC, 119-10, Louis Henderson, (904) 641-5250, losspeet/@ao.com 440th 5tg Bn, Asheville, NC, 109-11, Richard Fluise, (814) 928-5041, inchardfulce@hotmail.com, 459th 5tg Bn, Washington, 1111-11 Howard Barthin, (804) 7-40-7652, 485th, 467th, 472nd 5tg Bns, Asheville, NC, 109-11, Bichard Fluise, (814) 928-5041, richardfulke@ hotmail.com, 495th AAA Gui Bn, Rochester, NY, 10/5-6, Julian Declerck, (716) 346-6638, 504th AAA Gui Bn, Akron, OH, 10/25-28, Robert Janssens, (330) 336-5816; 516th 5tg Co, Asheville, NC, 10/5-7, Dow Duncan, (515) 425-6567, blinentr@spec.net, 517th FA Bn, Orlando, FL, 10/7-11, Chuck Underwood, (515) 987-5576, chunder@squitbolal.net, 518th 5tg Co, Washington, 10/25-28, Bob Doerr, (618) 867-2577, bob.doern@weizon.net 2577, bob.doerr@verizon.net

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USS Philippine Sea Mar Det, CV/CVA/CVE 47, Myrtle USS 7-mippine 28 awar 1964. CV/CV-VV-V-41, mynte Beach, SC, 10/2-6, Raiph Lund, (215) 345-6430. raiphmi@aol.com; VMB-423 Sea Horse Mar, Branson, MO, 10/11-14, Bill Woolman, (417) 858-6256, bill@ woolman.net; VMF/VMA-211 Reunion Assn, Alcoa, TN, 10/16-20, Ray Foust, (270) 395-4901, rfoust@apex.net; VMR-352 Mar Air Trans Sqdn, San Diego, 9/20-23, Russell Shoemaker, (626) 446-4901; VMTB-131, Portland, OR, 10/2-7, Merrill Hughes, (765) 675-2259

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Parting Shots





Short on Air, Long on Talk

My wife has a slight impediment in her speech. Every now and then she stops to breathe.

- Jimmy Durante

What Goes Around ...

There are few things more satisfying than seeing your children have teen-agers of their own.

- Doug Larson

Ain't That the Truth?

Laugh and the world laughs with you. Cry and you get on all the TV talk shows.

- Submitted by Wilbur N. Rhodes, Kittery, Maine

Coffee With the Troops

One morning, a little boy surprised his grandmother with a cup of coffee. He had made it himself and was quite proud. After forcing down the last sip, his grandmother noticed three green army figures at the cup's bottom.

"Honey," she asked, "why are three green army guys in the bottom of my cup?"

The boy replied, "Like it says on TV, Grandma, 'The best part of waking up is soldiers in your cup."

- Submitted by Thomas Vogt, Wausau, Wis.

Wouldn't It Be Nice?

I'm spending a year dead for tax reasons.

- Douglas Adams



"We men believe in equal rights for women ... except when it comes to the remote control."



"Try to understand, Mr. West, that if we gave you good service we'd have to extend it to all our customers.

Asbestos Cancer Hits Former Sailors

- Many who served aboard ship in the 1940's, 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's were exposed to asbestos.
- Due to the long latency period of these diseases, some are <u>now</u> coming down with asbestos-related cancers.



IF YOU NOW HAVE MESOTHELIOMA or LUNG CANCER, OR A LOVED ONE HAS RECENTLY DIED FROM ONE OF THESE CANCERS

For Medical Resources:

Visit the Mesothelioma Web: <u>www.mesotheliomaweb.org/n4658</u> or call toll-free **1-877-367-6376** to receive a free packet or to ask questions. (Packet includes information on mesothelioma treatment, clinical trials, cancer links, how to access legal and financial resources, and frequently asked questions with answers by the law firm below.)

For Information on Compensation from the Asbestos Industry: Law Offices of Jonathan David, P.C.*



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